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THE
RELIGIOUS SYSTEM
OF
CHINA

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Frontispiece.

Chinese Representations of Good and Evil Spirits.

THE RELIGIOUS SYSTEM OF CHINA

Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History and Present Aspect.
Manners, Customs and Social Institutions connected therewith.

BY

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VOLUME IV

BOOK II

ON THE SOUL AND ANCESTRAL WORSHIP

Part I, The Soul in Philosophy and Folk-Conception

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BOOK II.

ON THE SOUL AND ANCESTRAL WORSHIP.

INTRODUCTION.

As we set forth in the General Preface to this work (p. XIII), the Second Book will be devoted to the Soul, that is to say, to the ideas of the nature and characteristics of souls, the ways in which they are thought to manifest themselves or their influence, and to work on human life and society, as also to the main part of the practices and usages born from the belief in their existence and power. It will, in other words, be a Book on Animism, comprising Spirit-lore and Demonology, Exorcism and Divination, treating also of Spiritism and Fetichism, as they manifest themselves by the worship of deceased parents and ancestors in the family-circle, on their graves, and in temples. It will at the same time become an introduction to the principles and chief features of Taoism, this system having evolved in the main from the general ideas concerning souls.

Pursuing the method adopted in our First Book, we shall build up our Second as much as possible from Chinese texts, thus letting, so to say, the Chinese themselves compose it. This method is, we think, in general the best for ethnographical research among any nation that possesses a literature, as it may ensure the highest attainable degree of correctness in tracing its ideas and the motives of its doings, it being in his writings that man expresses spontaneously his thoughts and beliefs. Besides, the writings of a people are the only authentic sources from which its culture may be studied through its historical phases, and thus pages may be collected for the general history of the civilisation of mankind, which to write is, we dare say, the

highest aim and object of scientific Ethnography. Ethnography is hardly anything if not historical.

Since the publication of our First Book some scholars have openly scorned our historical method. They have declared that it embroils the different phases through which East-Asian culture has moved in the course of time, giving the medley as an image of the actual state of things. To these objections we must respond that we cannot see how there can possibly be any question of an embroilment of times and phases where, as in our work, at every quotation the source drawn from is honestly mentioned, and the time when this source was written rendered traceable through an appended list of the works quoted. But still, those censurers fail to see that our Chinese material showing the prevalence of the present ideas and customs in earlier times, and often also their origin, teaches us at every moment that in China's civilization there cannot even be much question of phases, the manners and customs, religious and social institutions of the past being there, so far as may be ascertained by means of books, so much like those of more modern times and the present day, as to almost enforce the conclusion that they have hardly ever undergone any change at all. Things may have developed in China, but nothing there has changed; this fact the present Book will make true again by a great number of instances.

Indeed, more perfectly than anywhere else in this world, are Religion, Superstition and Custom in China pictures of the past. Her literature may be regarded as the chief creator of this phenomenon. Inseparably combined, as everywhere in the heathen parts of the world they are, Religion, Superstition and Custom have, in truth, been delivered in China from age to age by tradition; but this tradition was always guided by books in which it was written down, and the oldest of which were always the most esteemed. It was the books that, merely describing them, in fact petrified them, keeping them also remarkably free from novelty, which, in Chinese civilized opinion, always is corruption. Hence it is that, in describing China's Religion, Superstition and Custom in their history and present aspect, those same books are necessarily to be our guides; hence also they are to lead us in reviewing the ideas relating to souls, spirits and devils, which form the dominant element in the wide field of Animism. Autopsy and hearsay here become matters of secondary importance.

Studying Animism, and in particular the ideas and conceptions

it includes, naturally comes in the main to a study of myth and fable about spirits and the spirit-world. While working in China, we collected a great number of ghost-tales from the lips of the people; but finding them afterwards by little and little in print, in versions certainly more reliable and enabling us somewhat to make out in how far they existed in past times, we have had to consign most of that hearsay evidence to the paper-basket. From such written myth and marvel the reader will find this Book for the greater part composed; but that material is no myth and marvel in Chinese eyes. Not being advanced enough in science and culture to distinguish between the possible and the impossible, almost everything which the books have to tell, the Chinese take for truth and true event, as reliable as any. This fact renders their books of the highest value for us as sources of knowledge of ideas and thoughts, even apart from the consideration that they are always reflections of prevailing opinion and of the train of thought of the time in which they were written, even though, occasionally, their authors may have drawn wittingly and knowingly from their imagination. And it is those opinions, that train of thought, which we want in the first place to know.

Thus our treatises in the field of Animism will acquaint the reader with a broad class of literary products, called, since the Han dynasty, s i a o s h w o h 小說 or "minor informations" — communications, according to the Chinese, of a lower order, comprising also novels and fictitious tales, in a great number of which interesting ethnographical and historical material lies hidden. The epoch of the T'ang dynasty seems to have been particularly prolific in writings of this class; but we have also some of earlier date, and a great number of the Sung time, besides many written under the Ming dynasty and the now reigning House. Though produced in ages so wide apart, the whole class shows a striking uniformity of character. Not the slightest change or progress in the animistic notions have we been able to trace in it, which corroborates our statement that China on the whole has always been as she was. Owing, no doubt, to the prevailing decadence of literary study and culture, we have not succeeded in finding complete copies of more than a few works in this class. Large collections of s i a o s h w o h, printed in uniform type and size, are, in fact, sold collectively, and are probably much read. But as a rule they give us the works only in a fragmentary state, their contents not coming up by far to what, according to the bibliographies and catalogues, they ought to contain. Happily,

China's world-famed *Ku kin tᶜu shu tsih chᶜing*[1] makes up this deficiency to a good extent. Hundreds of tales, not found in the books in which they are stated to belong, are distributed in this giant thesaurus over its several sections, with careful mention of the sources from which they were drawn. So we shall very often have to quote from it, and then mark our extracts by the characters T S, the abbreviated word *Tᶜu shu*.

In no smaller measure are we indebted for material to another collection almost unknown, and well-nigh entirely neglected by sinologists, viz. the *Tᶜai-pᶜing kwang ki* 太平廣記 or "Ample Writings of the Tᶜai pᶜing period", containing five hundred chapters of siao shwoh and miscellaneous notes, extracted from some three hundred works and arranged systematically under various titles. The Tᶜai pᶜing period, extending from A.D. 976 to 983, was a part of the reign of Tᶜai Tsung 太宗 of the Sung dynasty, who had the work compiled by a committee of thirteen learned grandees under presidency of the statesman Li Fang 李昉. It is the richest mine extant for knowledge of Chinese myth and legend, and but for it, many, if not most of the works from which it was built up, would have been entirely lost; now a great number, in the fragmentary state in which we have them, are expressly stated to be reconstructions from quotations preserved in the *Kwang ki*. This work seems to have had no wide circulation until about 1566, when it was re-published by the care of the Censor Tᶜan Khai 談愷. It is asserted to be a portion of a much larger manuscript produced by the Imperial committee, and to consist merely of such parts of it as were ejected by Tᶜai Tsung, who reviewed the whole manuscript in person; and what the emperor reserved for direct publication became the voluminous cyclopedia known as *Tᶜai-pᶜing yü lan* 太平御覽, "the Work of Imperial Autopsy of the Tᶜai pᶜing period", likewise preserved to this day[2]. In quoting from the *Kwang ki*, we shall denote this by the initials K K.

1 See Book I, XXI.

2 See Tᶜan Khai's preface to the *Kwang ki*, and also the *Sze khu tsᶜüen shu tsung-muh*, ch. 142, l. 32.

Leiden, August 1901.

PART I.

THE SOUL IN PHILOSOPHY AND FOLK-CONCEPTION.

CHAPTER I.

PSYCHOLOGICAL PHILOSOPHY.

The reader who has waded through the three volumes that form the First Book of this work, will have found that the way in which the Chinese dispose of the dead forms a rich mine of information respecting their ideas on the human soul, such as they virtually prevail among the people, and that it illustrates how vast the influence is, which those ideas have exercised upon Chinese social life in all its phases, since the earliest times known. It is now manifest also that, whereas the ideas about the Soul are the fundamental and leading ideas of China's Religion, as, in fact, they are probably of all religions on this earth, so the Disposal of the Dead is an integral part of that Religion, and a description of it may not be omitted in this attempt to depict the latter. But our First Book is far from giving in all their details the conceptions and usages respecting souls. It therefore becomes now our duty to describe them further, and thus to execute the second part of our programme, as set forth on page XIII of the General Preface.

Pursuing, as we have hitherto done, the historico-ethnographical method also in this part of our task, we find ourselves, for the knowledge of the most ancient animistic ideas of the Chinese, confined in the main to a study of those ideas as they were proper to the intelligent part of the people, it being not, of course, the lowest classes whose conceptions were laid down in the Classics and other works of the pre-Christian epoch. The Chinese mind at that time was, as we have had occasion specially to show in our dissertation on Fung-shui, in a stage of culture high

enough to invent a system of Cosmogony intended to explain, though by theories devoid of even the most primary scientific elements, the construction of the whole Universe and all its phenomena and mysteries. It used that very same web of speculative wisdom to explain also the mysteries of the creation and constitution of Man. And no wonder; for was not Man an intrinsic part of the Cosmos? was not he even one of the three principal parts of it, immediately ranking in importance after Heaven and Earth, and living between these powers? Indeed, in the *Yih king* we find it stated explicitly: "Anciently, the Holy Men made the yih (*i. e.* "permutations and combinations of lines) with the object of con- "forming, by means thereof, Man to the laws of Heaven, which "confers the endowments that constitute his nature. To this end "those Saints stated what the nature (Tao) of Heaven is, saying "it consists of (the operation of) the Yin and the Yang; sub- "sequently they made out what the nature of the Earth consists "in, declaring it to be composed of soft and strong substances; and "finally they made out all about the nature of Man, declaring it to "consist of benevolence and righteousness. They combined (the lines "representing) those three Powers (tsʿai), repeated them, and by "arranging those six lines in different permutations, obtained the "kwa" [1]. — "The *Yih king* is a book of wide comprehension and "embracing everything. It deals with the Tao of Heaven, the Tao "of Man and the Tao of Earth. It combines (the lines representing) "those three Powers, and it doubles them, so that they amount to "six. What those six lines show is nothing else than the Tao of "the three Powers" [2].

Our readers will have no difficulty in understanding these quotations in all their parts, if he be acquainted with what we have stated on pp. 960 *sqq.* of Book I about the Yin and the Yang, and about the kwa or lineal figures the ancients used to graphically represent

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[1] 昔者聖人之作易也將以順性命之理。是以立天之道曰陰與陽、立地之道曰柔與剛、立人之道曰仁與義。兼三才而兩之、故易六畫而成卦. Sect. 說卦傳.

[2] 易之爲書也廣大悉備。有天道焉、有人道焉、有地道焉。兼三才而兩之、故六。六者非它也三才之道也. Sect. 繫辭, II.

the chief phenomena of Nature created by the operation of these two great "Regulators". Those pages, giving the outlines of the ancient Chinese system of Cosmogony, will also enable the reader to understand the ancient theories about the human soul, which we are now going to develop with the aid of ancient excerpts.

The Yang and the Yin being deemed to produce, by the power of their co-operation, *all* that exists, so Man, too, was judged by the ancient Chinese to be a product of the union of those powers. And, likewise as a matter of course, they considered him to be shaped out of the same material and immaterial substance which they believed to constitute the Universe or, in other words, Heaven and Earth, containing the five Elements. These doctrines we find laid down in overt terms in the *Li ki* (ch. 32, l. 1). "Thus is it that "Man consists of the beneficial substances that compose the Heavens "and the Earth, of the co-operation of the Yin and the Yang, "and of the union of a kwei with a shen; he consists of the "finest breath contained in the five Elements" [1]. Thus ancient philosophy deemed Man to be a compound of two substances, viz. a kwei and a shen, respectively related, as the contexture of the passage of itself suggests, with the Yin and the Yang, and also related with terrestrial matter and immaterial celestial substance, with which, as our readers have long known, the Yin and the Yang are respectively identified.

The same ancient *Li ki* which has to the present day narrowly confined Chinese thought and mind within the limits of its doctrines, we do not search in vain for further theories tending to define the nature of the kwei and the shen, and their place in Cosmogony. We read in it (ch. 61, l. 1) that "Tsai Ngo spoke: 'I have heard "the terms kwei and shen, but I do not know what they "mean'; on which Confucius said to him: 'The khi (breath) is "the full manifestation of the shen, and the p'oh is the full "manifestation of the kwei; the union of the kwei with the "shen is the highest among all tenets. Living beings are all "sure to die, and as they certainly return (kwei) to the Earth "after their death, the soul (which accompanies them thither) is "called kwei. But while the bones and flesh moulder in the ground "and mysteriously become earth of the fields, the khi issues

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[1] 故人者其天地之德、陰陽之交、鬼神之會、五行之秀氣也. Sect. 禮運, III.

"forth and manifests itself on high as a shining m i n g (light)" [1].

This passage is the whole fundamental theory about the human soul in a nut-shell. To make it perfectly clear in all its details, we have only to put it into a wording of our own, at the same time considering it in connection with the above-mentioned association of the s h e n with the Y a n g and Heaven, and of the k w e i with the Y i n and the Earth. Thus, Confucius means to say, the s h e n manifests itself in its full development in man by his k h i or "breath"; indeed, only animated man breathes and lives [2]. After his death, this s h e n departs to higher regions, there to live on as m i n g or "lucid matter", in other words, it returns to the source from which it sprang, the source of light, that is to say, to the heavenly sphere, the chief department of the Y a n g. And his k w e i, the soul or spirit produced by the Y i n and thus partaking of the nature of the Earth, the gross, material part of the Universe, passes through an analogous process of migration. Under the name of p^{c}o h, its energy or active operation manifests itself in man, and on his death it returns to the Earth, from which it once emanated. Considering that the Chinese allot masculine attributes to Heaven, as this is the fructifying power of the Universe, while they ascribe a feminine character to Earth, which receives Heaven's fructification, we may call the s h e n the male soul or the *animus*, and the k w e i the female soul or *anima*.

The energy of the s h e n, operating in the living human body, was denoted in ancient China, except by the word k h i or breath, by the special term h w u n [3]. It is the *Li ki* again which teaches us this. We read in that work (ch. 14, l. 16) that, according to Confucius, the grandee Ki-tszĕ, styled Yen-ling from the principality of Yen-ling in which he lived, on burying his eldest son in the

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[1] 宰我曰、吾聞鬼神之名、不知其所謂。子曰、氣也者神之盛也、魄也者鬼之盛也、合鬼與神教之至也。衆生必死、死必歸土、此之謂鬼。骨肉斃於下、陰爲野土、其氣發揚於上爲昭明. Sect. 祭義, II.

2 It is hardly necessary to remind the reader, that an association of the soul with the breath is common among sundry peoples in various stages of culture. We may mention here also Pliny's doctrine (Historiae Naturalis, lib. 11, cap. 53), that breath is the only part of man which survives him, *sola ex omnibus superfutura*.

[3] 魂.

praiseworthy simple way we have made mention of on page 663 of Book I, "bared the left side of his body when the mound was "finished, and moving to the right, walked round it, howling three "times, and then he exclaimed: 'That the bones and flesh should "return to the Earth is ordained by fate; but the hwun or khi "can then go everywhere, it can go everywhere; and with this he "went on his way" [1]. In another section of the same work (ch. 38, l. 27) we read: "The hwun or khi returns to heaven; the body and the p'oh return to the Earth" [2].

Recapulating, we now know of the two souls, attributed to Man by ancient Chinese philosophy, that —

the shen 神 or immaterial soul emanates from the ethereal celestial part of the Cosmos, and consists of yang substance. When operating actively in the living human body, it is called khi 氣 or "breath", and hwun 魂; when separated from it after death, it lives forth as a refulgent spirit, styled ming 明;

and the kwei 鬼, the material, substantial soul, emanates from the terrestrial part of the Universe, and is formed of yin substance. In living man it operates under the name of p'oh 魄, and on his death it returns to the Earth.

It can hardly be doubted, that there exists some connection between the theory that the last-named part of the human spirit, which partakes of the nature of the earth, at death returns to the Earth, and the general conviction that the soul abides with the body in the grave, which conviction, as we have seen, dominates throughout the whole range of customs we have passed in review in Book I. It may, however, be suggested that this conviction is much older than that theory, so that it has by no means been created by the latter. Indeed, though true it is that written relics of olden times are silent here, yet the fact remains that everywhere on the globe philosophic theorizing is certainly younger than primitive animistic notions, and that a large number of the Chinese customs described by us, that are founded on a belief in the cohabitation of the soul and the body in the grave, bear clear

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[1] 既封、左袒右還其封、且號者三曰、骨肉歸復於土命也、若魂氣則無不之也、無不之也、而遂行. Sect. 檀弓, II, 3.

[2] 魂氣歸於天、形魄歸于地. Sect. 郊特牲. III.

evidence in themselves of having originated in a time when the people were not advanced enough to indulge in any abstract reasoning about a Heaven and an Earth receiving the souls of man on his death.

Thus, according to the genuine ancient theory, it must be the kwei that abides with the buried man in his grave. Nevertheless, the shen, too, is continuously represented by the customs relating to the disposal of the dead, as residing there, or, more correctly speaking, as dwelling about the spot, particularly in the inscribed grave-stone (comp. B. I, p. 1104). We have shown, that the pavilion which shelters this animated stone in every Imperial tomb of the Ming dynasty and of the present reigning House, was and is denoted officially as ming leu[1], "tower of the ming". Moreover, numerous excerpts from Chinese works, inserted by us in Book I, show that the things buried in tombs for the use of the manes, were in ancient China, and ever since, called ming khi[2], "implements for the ming", translated by us simply as "implements for the manes"[3]. We may also see on page 707 of Book I that Confucius is stated by the *Li ki* to have declared that "those implements were thus called because they were assigned for the use of the ming of the shen"[4], while Tseng-tszĕ thought "they were destined for the kwei"[5]. Finally, the clothes worn by the dead in their graves are called by the *I li* ming i-shang[6], "coats and petticoats for the ming" (see p. 332), or simply ming i[7], "coats for the ming" (p. 335, note 2).

The same *Li ki* which thus acquaints us with the oldest theories that have been framed in China in respect of the human soul, also teaches us that there existed in the semi-historical or, perhaps, even the legendary period, a sacrificial worship systematically addressed to either part of the soul separately. "The hwun or "khi", it says (ch. 38, l. 27), "returns to Heaven, and the body "and the pʿoh return to the Earth, and hence the custom exists "of seeking the soul, in sacrificing, as well in the yin part of the "Universe as in its yang part. Under the Yin dynasty they first

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1 明樓. 2 明器.

3 See *e. g.* pp. 393, 397, 402, 696, 700, 708.

4 其曰明器神明之也.

5 夫明器鬼器也.

6 明衣裳. 7 明衣.

"sought for it in the Yang; under the Cheu dynasty they first "sought it in the Yin" [1]. And in another place (ch. 61, l. 10) of the same work we read, that Confucius said in the discourse about the human soul, which he held with Tsai Ngo, and of which we translated a part on page 3: "After it was established that "there are two constituent parts of the soul, gratitude was shown "them by means of two ceremonies. They instituted the morning "service, when, to show gratitude to the khi, a burnt offering "was presented to it and the fragrance of the flesh was rendered "visible by means of lightening aromatic wood, every one in this "way being taught to turn his mind back towards his original "ancestors. And in order to show gratitude to the pʿoh, millet "and panicled millet were presented, together with dainties, livers, "lungs, heads and hearts, amidst which were seen two earthen "jars of spirits, to which aromatized spirits were added; this "sacrifice taught the people to love one another. Such manifestations "of affection for the manes on high and below were the most "important of rites" [2]. It is interesting to see from this excerpt, that in those ancient times sacrificial articles were sent on high to the shen or khi by means of the very same substance of which it was itself composed; fire, heat and light being indeed, as the reader knows, likewise emanations from the great universal Yang. It also was, we think, for the same philosophic consideration, that the place of worship was illuminated by means of burning wood, and that the ceremony was celebrated at the break of day. On the other hand, the articles destined for the pʿoh were not consigned to the flames, this part of the soul being of a material composition, which rendered volatilization of the food and drink unnecessary, if not undesirable.

Sinologists may, in studying ancient Chinese works, easily convince themselves that the human soul, composed, as it is, of a kwei

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[1] 魂氣歸於天、形魄歸于地、故祭求諸陰陽之義也。殷人先求諸陽、周人先求諸陰. Sect. 郊特牲, III.

[2] 二端既立、報以二禮。建設朝事、燔燎羶薌見以蕭光、以報氣也、此教衆反始也。薦黍稷羞肝肺首心、見間以俠甒、加以籩豆、以報魄也、教民相愛。上下用情禮之至也. Sect. 祭義, II.

and a shen, is most often denoted therein by the binomial kwei-shen, and very seldom by that of shen-kwei. In the *Shu king*, for instance, we count the first-named term three times, against that of shen-kwei only once[1]; in the *Chung yung* and the *Lun yü* kwei-shen occurs six times, and the other term not at all. This fact is significant, as it suggests that the kwei was prior to the shen in Chinese Animism and Soul-worship. There is nothing here to feel astonished at, if we merely keep in view that in the oldest works we have, the kwei is represented to be that part of the soul which returns with the corpse to the Earth, and that the belief that the soul abides there with the body after death must have prevailed long before civilisation could possibly bring the people to the invention of profound theories about a dualistic character of the soul. In short, time was when the Chinese knew no other souls than kwei, whole and undivided. Much solidity is given to this supposition by the fact that the graphic sign 鬼, which represents the word kwei, is a hieroglyph, holding position in the written language as a radical[2], while the characters for shen (神) and that for khi (氣) are composites and, consequently, formed in a later period of the written language. Those representing the terms hwun and pʿoh, viz. 魂 and 魄, are likewise of more recent date, being mere derivatives from the character kwei, formed by means of the phonetic prefixes 云 yun and 白 poh. We are, in consequence, led to consider the kwei to be the very first kernel of Chinese Animism, and the seed out of which China's system of Ancestral Worship, and even its whole native Religion, has grown up.

The fact that, many centuries before our era, the ideas concerning the constitution of the human soul in connection with those concerning the Cosmos, had reached in China the high state of

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1 In the section 金縢.

2 According to the *Shwoh wen* (ninth section, 1) "it represents a man 人 with "the head of a spectre 甶, combined with the sign 厶, selfish, because the yin "breath, of which the kwei consists, can cause injury": 从人象鬼頭、鬼陰气賊害故从厶. We see here that attempts to explain characters by dissecting them may lead to very tempting results; and it is no wonder that such dissections have in all times been very popular among Chinese scholars. But foreign students should never be rash in adopting their conclusions, Chinese achievements in this field being for the most part idle play, rather apt to mislead etymology than to further it.

development we have sketched in the foregoing pages, certainly attests the high mental culture then possessed by the inhabitants of that country. We may therefore expect, that in the same early epoch there were questions started about the properties of the kwei and the shen, and that it was asked in the first place whether they paid attention to the sacrifices and worship of the living. The passages translated by us on pp. 707 and 729 of Book I show, that serious doubts were entertained on this head by a part of the nation. We read, moreover, in the *Li ki* (ch. 12, l. 26): "In per- "forming the rites of sacrifice the principal mourner does all he "can, and yet, how can he know how far the shen enjoys his "offerings? Nevertheless, feelings manifested by his abstinence and "reverence perform a part at those rites" [1]. It is evident, however, that disbelief in the consciousness of disembodied souls could by no means have the upper hand, as, otherwise, the ancient works would not, as in reality they do, teem with references to sacrifices presented to the dead, neither would they, as also is the case, abound with rules and rescripts as to how to perform such sacrifices in the proper way, time and place. Confucius, according to the *Li ki* (ch. 30, l. 20), preached explicitly that disembodied human souls do possess consciousness, as he declared that, on the burial, "the corporeal pʿoh goes downward, and the conscious khi is "on high" [2].

There is very little in the writings of pre-Christian times which entitles us to conclude, that the then inhabitants of the Middle Kingdom were a meditating people, often lost in speculation about the soul and its two constituent parts. The *Tso chʿwen* represents the pʿoh as working in man more particularly as an animal soul manifesting itself already immediately on his birth, while the hwun is his intellectual spirit, showing its existence at a later period, when, by the usual habits and business of life, it has, side by side with the pʿoh, gradually grown stronger in the same proportions as the vital energy (tsing), reaching in the end, as a shen or ming, its full development. "When (Confucius' disciple) Tszĕ- "chʿan", thus we read in that work, "went to the kingdom of "Tsin, he was interviewed by Chao King-tszĕ. 'Was it', said this

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[1] 惟祭祀之禮主人自盡焉爾、豈知神之所饗。亦以主人有齊敬之心也. Sect. 檀弓, II, 1.

[2] 體魄則降、知氣在上. Sect. 禮運, I.

"man, 'possible for Poh-yiu to become a kwei?' 'Yes', replied "Tszĕ-chʿan. 'When a man is born, the first thing that develops "in him is what we call his pʿoh; after the pʿoh is produced, "we denote the yang substance (that is in him) by the name of "hwun. Things of all sorts and kinds being subsequently used and "handled by him, his tsing increases, his hwun and pʿoh being "thereby strengthened; and as a consequence he obtains a tsing "perfectly sound and vigorous, and, in the end, a shen or ming"[1].

This passage is important also because it acquaints us with another element that plays a part in ancient and modern Chinese psychology, viz. the tsing 精. From a series of passages, collated with the object of ascertaining the meaning which Chinese philosophers attach to this word, we arrive at the conclusion that it must signify a certain force or fluid that dwells in man, constituting the working energy of his soul, its effective power. Souls devoid of it cannot manifest their existence; the tsing is, accordingly, the vital spirit, so that of every individual from whom it disappears, death is imminent. These ideas we find clearly set forth in the *Tso chʿwen*. This work relates, that in B.C. 516, when the Ruler of the state of Sung banqueted Shuh-sun Chao-tszĕ[2], an envoy from another kingdom, and both men were merry and mellow, they began to shed tears as they talked together, on which one Yoh-khi[3] said: "Now both our Ruler and Shuh-sun shall die, for "I have heard that joy in the midst of grief and grief in the midst "of joy announce that the heart is waning. The soundness and "vigour of the tsing, that are settled in the heart, is what we "call the hwun and the pʿoh, and when the hwun and the pʿoh "leave him, how can the individual long continue?"[4]. This passage intimates also that the ancient Chinese considered the heart (心) to be the seat of the vital spirits, and that these spirits, in their

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[1] 及子產適晉、趙景子問焉。曰、伯有猶能爲鬼乎。子產曰、能。人生始化曰魄、既生魄陽曰魂、用物精多、則魂魄强、是以有精爽至於神明. The seventh year of Chao's reign.

[2] 叔孫昭子.

[3] 樂祁.

[4] 今茲君與叔孫其皆死乎、吾聞之哀樂而樂哀皆喪心也。心之精爽是謂魂魄、魂魄去之何以能久. Twenty-fifth year of Chao's reign.

opinion, could not work in a man independently of his hwun and pʿoh.

The terms given in the above pages as playing a part in China's psychological doctrines, are often combined into dissyllabic terms, without, however, any new ideas being expressed by the latter. Thus we have kwei-shen and hwun-pʿoh, which are combinations of nouns, simply denoting the soul in its two component parts. In the compound shen ming, which is commonly used to denote the disembodied soul after death, the first component has an adjective sense, so that the term means literally the ming or lucid spirit evolved from the shen on the death of the individual. Also in shen hwun the first syllable stands for an adjective, the term being a very common appellation denoting the hwun, composed, as it is, of shen substance derived from the great yang principle of the Universe. Tsing khi and tsing shen are compounds the literal signification of which is khi or shen possessed of tsing or operative energy, and both are much used, as well in books as in common parlance, as synonyms of tsing, that is to say, in the sense of vital spirits. The following passage, professedly written in the first century of our era, clearly instances their use as such: "That by which a man "lives is his tsing khi; it is extinguished at his death. For it is "his blood-pulses that form his tsing khi, and whereas these "pulses stop on his death, the tsing khi is then quenched .... "When a man dies, his tsing shen ascends to Heaven .... The "tsing shen is hidden in the body like paddy or rice in a bag, "and when the individual is dead, his body rots and his tsing "khi disperses, just the same as rice drops out of a bag in which "there are holes because it is rotting" [1]. By the way it may be remarked, that this passage teaches us that the ancient Chinese sometimes connected the vital spirits of man with the movements and throbs of his arteries, evidently from the fact that stagnation of the pulses coincides with extinction of life.

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[1] 人之所以生者精氣也、死而精氣滅。能爲精氣者血脉也、人死血脉竭而精氣滅。。。人死、精神升天 。。。人之精神藏於形體之內猶粟米在囊橐之中也、死而形體朽、精氣散、猶囊橐穿敗粟米棄出也. *Lun heng*, ch. 20, sect. 論死.

Passing in silence over some other combinations of less frequent use, we must draw the attention of our readers to a psychological term prevailing, we dare say, oftener than any other in ancient and modern writings, viz. ling 靈, signifying the effective operation of the tsing, its actual, observable manifestation, its agency. Ling khi, ling hwun, and ling shen are expressions of very common use, denoting the intelligent yang soul manifesting effectual power and influence, either while abiding in a man, or in a disembodied state. As, accordingly, the ling is the very manifestation of the soul, it is natural to find that the Chinese use the word constantly for the soul itself. So, for example, we have seen on page 708 of Book I, that the quasi-animated figures of straw, buried in ancient China in the graves of the dead, were styled 芻靈, "ling of straw". We may translate the word by spirituousness.

We now know that Man, as being an intrinsic part of the Universe, was represented by ancient Chinese philosophers to be composed like the Cosmos itself; that is to say, of a material part consisting of the same substance as the Earth, and animated, like the Earth itself, by the great breath Yin; and of a less material part, composed of the same substance of which Heaven consists, and, like Heaven, animated by the breath Yang. But, in thus making of Man a microcosmos in the true sense of this word, those sages extended the parallel still farther. Considering the Yang and the Yin to be the two souls of the Universe, they ascribed to them, as they did to the two corresponding souls of man, a tsing or operative energy, the ling or effective power of which creates all living beings; indeed, we find it stated positively in the books, that "those souls or breaths (khi), possessed of tsing, produce the living beings" [1], and that Tseng-tszĕ said: "The breath "possessed of tsing, which composes the Yang, we call shen, "and the breath possessed of tsing, which constitutes the Yin, "we call ling, and it is that shen and that ling which are the "origin of all classes of living beings" [2]. Keeping now in view that

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[1] 精氣爲物. *Yih king*, sect. 繫辭, I.

[2] 陽之精氣曰神、陰之精氣曰靈、神靈者品物之本也. *Ta Tai li ki* 大戴禮記, "Book of Rites of the Senior Tai", ch. 5 (§ 58). This work, in thirteen chapters, compiled by Tai Teh 戴德 about

the principal seat of the Yang is Heaven, and that the Earth is the chief depository of the Yin, it follows from Tseng-tszĕ's words that it is the shen of Heaven and the ling of Earth which, co-operating, are the creative powers of the Universe. The reader will now completely understand why, as we said on page 952 of Book I, geomancers consider the different parts of the surface of the Earth capable of manifesting ling, or, as they call it, shan ling, *i. e.* "effective creative operation of high grounds", at the absence of which Fung shui is dead; and it becomes now also perfectly clear why at burials, when the soul tablet is dotted, the wish is expressed "that the Earth may manifest ling" (see p. 215) or, in other words, may operate efficaciously upon the felicity of the dead man's offspring.

The animistic theories unfolded in the foregoing pages show us that the ancient Chinese considered the creation of living beings to consist in a never stopping effusion by the universal Yang and Yin of doses of their own substance, paired with a continual re-absorption of those doses. The Yang was, in their opinion, a compound of myriads of shen, sharing the supremacy in the Universe with an infinity of kwei constituting the Yin. The Yang and the Yin are the great Regulators of the Cosmos which cause the phenomena of creation, evolution and destruction, but their all-pervading active influence is in reality exercised by the shen and the kwei, simply on account of their being the constituents of those two powers. In fact, they were raised by the ancients to the rank of agents of the Yang and the Yin, filling the Universe in all its parts. "The Yin and the "Yang in their entirety", says the *Yih king*, "are what we call "the Course (Tao) of the Universe .... The shen do not dwell "in special places", that is, they move about everywhere; "they "form the unfathomable force of the Yin and the Yang .... "These two breaths, possessed of operative energy, produce "the living beings, and the transmigrating hwun are the "causes of the evolutions and phenomena of Nature, and it is "from the latter that we learn to understand the characteristics of "the kwei and the shen[1]. And Confucius spoke: 'Does the

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the beginning of our era, is now recognized as a ritual of high authority. One of its sections is the *Hia siao ching*, a precious old calendar of the Hia dynasty, mentioned by us on p. 968 of Book I.

[1] 一陰一陽之謂道。。。神无方。。陰陽不測之

"man who comprehends the ways in which such evolutions and "involutions take place, understand the works of the shen?'" [1].

The animistic doctrines, thus laid down in ancient Chinese works, are at the base of all psychological philosophy which the people and its sages have ever indulged in through all ages, down to this hour. Doctrines based on other principles we find nowhere in their books; which, moreover, perfectly tallies with the well known fact, that the Chinese have built up no philosophic systems but on what the ancients taught and wrote. Yang Wang-sun, who lived nearly one century before our era, did not follow another train of thought when he declared, as we saw on page 308 of Book I, that the corporal part (形) of man is a part of the Earth, and his vital spirits are a part of the Heaven, and that each of these two parts returns at death to the original substance (chen 眞) out of which it came forth. It must now be noted, that already at an early date Chinese sages began to rack their brains to establish the connection between the Cosmos and the soul of man on one side, and man's character, passions, senses, mind and mental faculties on the other, but that all their writings in this field are nothing better than monstrous products of philosophic miscarriages, valuable only from an ethnographical point of view, as examples of the curious ways on which the human mind may stray when merely seeking wisdom in speculative reasonings untutored by experimental science.

Even Confucius is stated to have groped here like a blind man for the wall, for we read somewhere that "his disciple Tszĕ-kung "said: 'The orations of the Master concerning the innate natural "character of man in connection with the Course or Path (Tao) "of Heaven, were unintelligible" [2]. He seems to have altogether ascribed the best faculties of man to the vigorous operation of his soul born from the yang part of the Universe, it being recorded that he said of the holy emperor Hwang: "The shen of Hien "Yuen (*i. e.* Hwang) displayed effectual power (ling) from his "very birth. In his infancy he could speak; in his early youth he

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謂神 。。。精氣爲物、游魂爲變、是故知鬼神之情狀. Sect. 繫辭, I.

[1] 子曰、知變化之道者其知神之所爲乎. The same section, II.

[2] 子貢曰、夫子之言性與天道不可得而聞也. *Lun yü*, V, 12.

"was quick-witted and clever; when grown up he was respectful "and considerate, and when he had reached the age of manhood, "he was intelligent and wise" [1].

Liu Ngan, who lived some three or four centuries after Confucius, dilated on the congruity between the Cosmos, the soul and bodily constitution of man, his senses and his passions, in the following terms: "Anciently, before Heaven and Earth existed, there was "substance, but it was formless. There then existed also two "shen, which, intermixing their existence, framed the Heaven "and built up the Earth; thereupon separating, they became the "Yin and the Yang, and dispersing, they formed the eight "regions of the Universe. In consequence of the full development of "the hard and soft influences of those Powers, all matter endowed "with life received a form. Their breath (khi) mixing together, "created the animals; their breath possessed of operative energy "(tsing khi) produced man, and thus it is that man's shen "possessed of such operative energy (tsing shen) belongs to "Heaven, and his bones to Earth. When (at our death) this "tsing shen retires into the gate (out of which it came forth), "and also our bones go back to their origin, what, then, does there "remain of us? On account of all this, a wise man guides his "passions by conforming them to Heaven .....

"Thus, man receives his tsing shen from Heaven, and his "material body from the Earth. By the full development of that "body his five viscera are formed, and that in such a way that "his lungs have the mastery over his eyes, his kidneys govern his "nose, his gall bladder his mouth, his liver his ears. Consequently, "(just the same as Heaven and Earth) the body has organs that "manifest themselves outwardly and work internally, and which "open and close, expand and contract according to established "rules. Hence also, (the soul and the body being borrowed from "Heaven and Earth), the round shape of the human head represents "Heaven, and the square form of the feet the Earth. Heaven has "his four seasons, five Elements, nine sections [2] and 366 days, as "man has four limbs, five viscera, nine apertures, and 366 joints. "Further, Heaven has wind, rain, cold and heat, while man, too,

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[1] 孔子曰、軒轅生而神靈。弱而能言、幼而彗齊、長而敦敏、成而聰明. *Ta Tai li ki*, ch. 7 (§ 62).

2 Probably the eight principal points of the compass, with the centre of the Universe.

"takes and gives, and has his joys and anger. His gall-bladder "being assimilated with the clouds, his lungs with the atmosphere, "his liver with the winds, his kidneys with rain, and his spleen "with thunder, man is also in these respects assimilated with "the Universe; his heart governs all the other organs. And so "it is that his eyes and ears represent the sun and the moon, "his blood and breath respectively the rains and the winds.... "so blood and breath are the best parts of a man, and the five "viscera are the effective operation of his soul (viz. his tsing)... "The openings of the body are the doors and windows through "which the tsing shen manifests itself... The heart is the "principal organ of the body, and the shen is the heart's most "precious element" [1].

In ensuing centuries, philosophers, by mere art of reasoning, spun out to a still greater length those associations between the Cosmos and the bodily and mental constitution of man. A very curious fruit from this field of speculation was laid down in the first century of our era in a book already known to our readers (see p. 277), viz. in the *Poh hu t'ung i*, professedly by the hand of Pan Ku, the

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[1] 古未有天地之時惟像無形。有二神、混生經天營地。於是乃別爲陰陽、離爲八極。剛柔相成萬物乃形。煩氣爲蟲、精氣爲人、是故精神天之有也、而骨骸者地之有也。精神入其門、而骨骸反其根、我尙何存。是故聖人法天順情。。。。。。。

夫精神者所受於天也、而形體者所稟於地也。形體以成五藏乃形、是故肺主目、腎主鼻、膽主口、肝主耳。外爲表而內爲裏、開閉張歙各有經紀。故頭之圓也象天、足之方也象地。天有四時五行九解三百六十六日、人亦有四支五藏九竅三百六十六節。天有風雨寒暑、人亦有取與喜怒。故膽爲雲、肺爲氣、肝爲風、腎爲雨、脾爲雷、以與天地相參也、而心爲之主。是故耳目者日月也、血氣者風雨也。。。是故血氣者人之華也、而五藏者人之精也。。。夫孔竅者精神之戶牖也。。。故心者形之主也、而神者心之寶也. *Hung lieh kiai*, ch. VII.

author of the Books of the Early Han Dynasty. That specimen of ancient oriental wisdom derives peculiar importance from the fact that it has hitherto held an authoritative position among all writings on psychology; it deserves our attention also because it shows how the sagest Chinese of those times were wont to indulge with the greatest earnestness in the idle art of paronomasia, taking homonyms or quasi homonyms for synonyms, and thus explaining the one word by the other. "What are", thus the author asks, "the passions "(ts'ing 情), and what is the innate natural character (sing 性)? "The latter is an endowment bestowed by the Yang; the passions "are evolutions from the Yin; and whereas man is produced by "receiving breath from the Yang and from the Yin, he harbours "in himself a quinary character and six passions. Ts'ing means "stillness (靜, likewise pronounced ts'ing or tsing); and natural "character signifies birth (生, pronounced sing or sheng), "because it consists of six breaths which man receives at his "birth. The *Keu ming küeh* [1] says indeed, that the passions have "their origin in the Yin. We will now for a time meditate on "this subject [2].

"That the natural character has its origin in the Yang, is "quite rational. For, the yang breath being benevolent, and the "yin breath covetous, we find among the passions a desire for "gain and profit, while the character possesses benevolence. What "do we understand by the five Constant Matters? They are "benevolence, righteousness, ceremony and rites, knowledge, and

1 In the Catalogue of Literature, inserted in the Books of the Sui Dynasty, a work of this name is mentioned, bearing upon the *Hiao king* or "Classic of Filial Submission and Piety" of which we spoke on p. 307 of Book I, the full title being given as 孝經勾命決, with the addition "that it consisted of six chapters, commented by Sung Kiün": 六卷、宋均注 (ch. 32, l. 31) who lived in the first century. On the same page that Catalogue gives a similar title of a work in one chapter, extant under the Liang dynasty, but lost when the Catalogue was composed: 梁有五帝鉤命決圖一卷、亡; this title infers that the book had reference to the five Emperors of legendary antiquity. We cannot tell which of the two is here referred to by Pan Ku. Both evidently belonged, as the titles show, to the class of works on fortune-telling.

2 情性者何謂也。性者陽之施、情者陰之化也、人稟陰陽氣而生故內懷五性六情。情者靜也、性者生也、此人所稟六氣以生者也、故鉤命訣曰、情生於陰。欲以時念也.

"trustworthiness. Now then, whereas man at his birth consists of "a body which corresponds with the things represented by the "eight trigrams [1], he then acquires also five breaths out of which "he forms the Constant Matters. And what do we mean, when we "speak of the six passions? We then mean joy, anger, sorrow, "merriment, like, and dislike; they are six passions that contribute "to the formation of the quinary natural character. Why does "this character consist of five parts, and why are the passions six "in number? It is because man exists by absorbing breath from "the six musical accords and from the five Elements; hence, "also, he has within himself five viscera and six mansions, from "which the passions and the character issue, and into which they "retire. The *Yoh tung shing i* [2] says: The government of a State, "too, is divided into six mansions, and man has his five viscera. "What are these five viscera? They are the liver, the heart, the "lungs, the kidneys, and the spleen. The liver represents benevolence, "the lungs righteousness, the heart ceremony and rites, the kidneys "knowledge, and the stomach trustworthiness. Why does the liver "represent benevolence? Because it consists of the operative energy "(tsing) of the element Wood; for indeed, benevolence is the love "of living creatures, and the East (identified with Wood and the "spring, s. pp. 967 and 988 of Book I) is yang, and is the "region in which all that is endowed with life has its origin "(s. page 961). Thus, because the liver symbolizes Wood, it has "a blue colour (like the spring, s. page 317), and also leaves "and branches. Why are the eyes its apertures? Because the eyes "can emit tears, but cannot give admittance to anything; for Wood, "too, is able to send forth things, viz. branches and leaves, and "cannot give admittance to anything from without [3].

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1 That is to say, a body produced by Heaven, Earth, and the natural phenomena; compare p. 960 of Book I.

2 This work we do not find in the Catalogue contained in the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, nor in that of the Books of the Dynasty of Sui. The title seems to mean: "On the Signification of the Sounds produced when Music is played".

3 性生於陽以理也。陽氣者仁、陰氣者貪、故情有利欲、性有仁也。五常者何謂。仁義禮智信也。故人生而應八卦之體、得五氣以爲常。六情者何謂也。喜怒哀樂愛惡、謂六情所以扶成五性。性所以五、情所以六者何。人本含六律五行氣而生、故內有五藏六府、此情性之所由出入

"And why are the lungs identic with righteousness? It is "because they consist of the operative energy of the element Metal; "righteousness decides the fate of western regions [1], and Metal "(being identified with the West and, consequently, with the autumn, "s. pp. 967 and 988) brings everything to maturity. Because the "lungs symbolize Metal, their colour is white (like that of the autumn, "s. page 317). How is it that the nose is its aperture? Because "the nose likewise inhales and exhales the air, and because it has "an elevated position, and because it has holes; indeed, the elevated "parts of the ground are also composed of accumulations of metal "and stone, and have holes and caves which, exhaling the clouds "and distributing rains, fertilize the earth, after which the clouds "dissolve (being as it were inhaled by the caves); it is the nose "that similarly exhales the air and inhales it [2].

"Why is the heart considered to be ceremony and rites? It is "so because this organ consists of the operative energy of the "element Fire. In the South (the region assimilated with Fire) the "estimable Yang has the upper hand, while the less estimable "Yin underlies there, and in ceremonial and rites, likewise, difference "is kept in view between those of high rank and those in low rank. "Because the heart thus represents Fire, its colour is red. It is "pointed; for, indeed, man entertains veneration for the Way of "Nature (the Tao), and so his heart is pointed beneath because "(broad) Heaven is above him. Why are the ears the apertures of

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也。樂動聲儀曰、官有六府、人有五藏。五藏者何也。謂肝心肺腎脾也。五藏肝仁、肺義、心禮、腎智、脾信也。肝所以仁者何。肝木之精也、仁者好生、東方者陽也、萬物始生。故肝象木、色青而有枝葉。目爲之候何。目能出淚而不能納物、木亦能出枝葉、不能有所內也.

1 Because, when righteousness prevails in China, the barbarian tribes of the West are altogether deeply impressed and awed into reverent submission.

2 肺所以義者何。肺者金之精、義者斷決西方、亦金成萬物也。故肺象金、色白也。鼻爲之候何。鼻出入氣、高而有竅、山亦有金石累積、亦有孔穴、出雲布雨以潤天下、雨則雲消、鼻能出納氣也.

"the heart? They are so because they thoroughly connect the "interior body with the outward world, thus distinguishing sounds "and words. It is still to be observed that Fire, whereas it shines "clear and bright, resembles ceremony and rites inasmuch as the "latter make a clear distinction between superiors and inferiors [1].

"Why are the kidneys identified with knowledge? Because they "consist of the operative energy of Water. A man that possesses "knowledge, whether he acts or does nothing, is never indecisive "or in doubt, just the same as water, which, too, never wavers "about the direction to follow when in a forward motion. "The North being assimilated with Water, the kidneys have "the black colour (of the North). Why are the two passages "its apertures? Because they expel water, and may also void fluid "excrements [2].

"And why is the spleen identified with trustworthiness? Because "it consists of the operative energy of the element Earth, which "latter applies itself to nourishing all that exists [3], representing "in this way absence of selfishness in producing living beings; and "this is trustfulness in the highest degree. As the spleen represents "Earth, it has the yellow colour (of this element). Why is the "mouth its opening? Because the mouth can swallow food and "taste it, and because the tongue can distinguish tastes; and also "because the mouth can vomit [4] sounds and fluid secretions [5].

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1 心所以爲禮何。心火之精也。南方尊陽在上、卑陰在下、禮有尊卑。故心象火色赤。而銳也、人有道尊、天本在上、故心下銳也。耳爲之候何。耳能遍內外、別音語。火照有似於禮、上下分明.

2 腎所以智何。腎者水之精。智者進而止無所疑惑、水亦進而不惑。北方水、故腎色黑。雙竅爲之候何。竅能瀉水、亦能流濡.

3 The spleen is, indeed, considered to be the principal organ of digestion.

4 A play, probably, upon the homonymous words t'u 吐 "to vomit", and t'u 土 "Earth".

5 脾所以信何。脾者土之精也、土尙任養萬物、爲之象生物無所私、信之至也。故脾象土色黃也。口爲之候何。口能啖嘗、舌能知味、亦能出音聲吐滋液.

"It is for those reasons that the *Yuen ming pao* [1] says:
"'The eyes are the agents of the liver; the liver consists of the
"operative energy of Wood, and it is the seat of the Blue Dragon
"(the Celestial Animal assimilated with the spring, s. Book I,
"p. 317). The nose is the agent of the lungs; the lungs are
"composed of the operative energy of Metal, so that they sever
"immediately when cut into. The ears are the openings of the
"heart; this organ consists of the operative energy of the element
"Fire; and corresponds on high with the asterisms Chang and

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1 I have not seen any work of this name, and do not know whether it still exists. In the Books of the Later Han Dynasty (ch. 12, l. 10) we read, that in A.D. 123 some forty Ministers proposed that the *Yuen ming pao* should be abolished, which misty passage apparently refers to the repudiation of some chronological dates, the correctness of which was seriously combated. In ch. 89 of the same work we encounter, on leaf 12, the title again, viz. in the biography of Chang Heng 張衡, an Imperial historiographer and astronomer who died in A.D. 139, but with the characters 春秋 prefixed, showing that the work bore upon the *Ch'un-ts'iu*, or upon the period of which this famous ancient book recounts the events. Accordingly we may admit that it existed in early Christian times. Bretschneider says in the Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XVI, p. 144, on the authority of the *Shi yen yao yuen* 事言要元, an encyclopedia published in 1618, that it was a section of the *Ch'un ts'iu wei shu* 春秋緯書, "Books forming the Woof of the *Ch'un-ts'iu* Period", published in the first century before our era, which may be the same work which the Catalogue in the Books of the Sui Dynasty (ch. 32, l. 31) says was lost at the time, but was extant still under the Liang dynasty in 30 chapters, with a commentary by Sung Kiün (梁有春秋緯三十卷、宋均注、亡), who lived in the first century of the Christian era. Extracts from the *Ch'un-ts'iu yuen ming pao* are sometimes found in the *TS*, as *e. g.* the following: "The bladder is the mansion of "the lungs, and it is the lungs that decide the (functions of the) bladder, the latter "likewise having the power to distend constantly: hence it is the bladder which "produces decisions in difficult matters... The situation of the spleen against the "other organs may be said to be that of a coiled dragon and a tiger couchant "lying against each other... The stomach is the mansion that governs the spleen, "and the latter derives its breath from the stomach, as this is the organ entrusted "with the grain (*i. e.* food)" 膀胱者肺之府也、肺者斷決膀胱、亦常張有勢、故膀胱決難也。。。脾之爲言附著也如龍蟠虎伏合附著也。。。胃之脾之主府、稟氣、胃者穀之委、故脾稟氣也. Sect. 人事, ch. 21. The Catalogue in the Books of the Sui Dynasty (ch. 32, l. 31), among some lost works still extant under the Liang dynasty, also mentions a *Hiao-king yuen ming pao* in one chapter, 孝經元命包一卷, which may be the work referred to by Pan Ku.

"Sing [1]. The Yin is the image of the kidneys; the kidneys "consist of the operative energy of Water, and correspond with the "constellations Hü and Wei in the firmament [2]. The mouth is the "door of the spleen; this organ consists of the operative energy of "the element Earth, and therefore it corresponds in the sky with "the Northern Bushel, which presides over the metamorphoses and "phenomena of Nature [3]. Some say that the mouth is the aperture of "the heart, and that the ears are those of the kidneys; others hold that "the liver is connected with the eyes, the lungs with the nose, the "heart with the mouth, the spleen with the tongue, and the kidneys "with the ears [4]. [5]

"And what now do we call the six Mansions? They are: the "large intestines, the small intestines, the stomach, the bladder, the "triple organ of digestion, and the gall-bladder. These mansions "are the dwelling-places of the viscera, and hence it is that the "*Li yun* represents the six passions as contributing to the formation "of the quinary character [6]. The stomach is the mansion of the "spleen, the bladder that of the kidneys, the triple organ of digestion

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1 See B. I, p. 972. These constellations having nearly the same longitude as Lion and Cancer, they were, some twenty or thirty centuries ago, nearest the sun in the middle of the hot season.

2 Indeed, those constellations, answering to Aquarius (s. B. I, p 971) and standing right opposite Chang and Sing, were anciently traversed by the sun in the middle of winter, the season identified by cosmogonists with the element Water.

3 The reader will find this connection between the Earth and the Greater Bear perfectly intelligible, if he remembers the important part this asterism plays, according to Chinese ideas, in production and creation on Earth by regulating the rotation of the seasons (B. I, pp. 317 *seq.*).

4 Liu Ngan, as we saw on page 15, had contrived still other combinations.

5 故元命苞曰、目者肝之使、肝者木之精、蒼龍之位也。鼻者肺之使、肺者金之精、制割立斷。耳者心之候、心者火之精、上爲張星。陰者腎之竅、腎者水之精、上爲虛危。口者脾之門戶、脾者土之精、上爲北斗、主變化者也。或曰口者心之候、耳者腎之候、或曰肝繫於目、肺繫於鼻、心繫於口、脾繫於舌、腎繫於耳.

6 In the section of the *Li ki* entitled *Li yun* (II) it is stated in fact that there are seven passions, which ought to be regulated by means of a cultivation of three of the constant matters, viz. righteousness, trustworthiness, and ceremony and rites. A translation of the whole passage, which is evidently the one Pan Ku here refers to, we will give on page 39.

"that of the pericardium, the gall-bladder that of the liver; the "small intestines are the mansion of the lungs, and the great "intestines that of the heart, and as such they predominate over "ceremonial and rites, and righteousness. Joy resides in the "West, anger in the East, like in the North, dislike in the South, "sorrow in the Nadir, and merriment in the Zenith; and why is this "so? The West is the region in which everything endowed with "life attains to maturity and completion; hence it is joy. The "East is the region where everything that has life is born, and "therefore it is anger. In the North the breath of the Yang begins "to distribute itself; hence it is like. In the South the breath of the "Yin arises, and therefore it is dislike. And much merriment prevails "above us, while much sorrow prevails below [1].

"What now do we call the hwun and the pʿoh? Hwun (魂) "means the same thing as to circulate (伝伝), that is to say, the "hwun move incessantly about outside the bodies. It dominates the "passions. The pʿoh (魄) is the soul which prompts (迫) the "man (in whom it dwells) in such a way as to make him manifest "himself. It has the mastery of the natural character. Hwun also "means the yun herb (芸) because the passions remove unclean "things [2]; and pʿoh signifies manifestation (白, pronounced poh), "because it governs the interior of man by means of his natural "character" [3].

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1 六府者何謂也。謂大腸、小腸、胃、膀胱、三焦、膽也。府者爲藏宮府也、故禮運記曰、六情所以扶成五性也。胃者脾之府也、膀胱者腎之府也、三焦者包絡府也、膽者肝之府也、小腸大腸心肺府也、主禮義。喜在西方、怒在東方、好在北方、惡在南方、哀在下、樂在上、何以。西方萬物之成、故喜。東方萬物之生、故怒。北方陽氣始施、故好、南方陰氣始起、故惡。上多樂、下多哀也.

2 The yun being a fragant herb, it is considered to destroy filthy smells.

3 魂魄者何謂。魂猶伝伝也、行不休於外也。主於情。魄者迫然著人。主於性也。魂者芸也、情以除穢、魄者白也、性以治內. Chapter III.

Thus the final alinea of this nonsensical or semi-nonsensical gibberish teaches us, that it was admitted by the ancients that the hwun or yang soul governs the passions of the person in whom it dwells, and that his p'oh or yin soul governs his heaven-born natural character. This theory is quite congruent with the one set forth by Pan Ku at the very outset of his treatise, viz. that the passions appertain to the Yin, that is to say, to the part of the Universe which is naturally checked and counterpoised by the Yang, and that man's natural character emanates from the Yang, the operation of which is constantly counteracted and bridled by the Yin. We accordingly see that the soul of man was by no means identified with his instinct or character; nor was it considered as the origin, the author thereof. But not all ancient writers were unanimous on this point, and Siün Yueh [1], for example, who lived from A.D. 148 to 209, altogether assimilated the yang soul with the natural character. "What is acquired by man at his birth", thus he wrote in a little work on moral philosophy, "we call his natural character, that is, the shen which inhabits his material body" [2].

It is quite superfluous to draw the attention of our readers to the fact that Pan Ku's treatise has many traits in common with the curious speculative theories of our own ancient and mediaeval physicians and psychologists. It is interspersed lavishly with still other speculations on the congruity between the several internal organs of man and his passions and virtues. But they are drawn from such a depth as to render it hardly possible to follow the author's train of thought; and as, moreover, we feel sure our readers do not want much of such idle vagaries, we have simply skipped them. In a country where Nature and Man were never studied in a rational experimental way, and where the human mind was, accordingly, never tutored by any correct notions about the material constitution and laws of the Cosmos, nor by any solid knowledge of the human body and the functions of its several organs — in such a country philosophers and physiologists could merely grope at the mysteries of Nature and the human existence, and not possibly produce any better than a veri-similar system pretending to explain them all. Nevertheless, this system represented Wisdom itself in

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[1] 荀悅.

[2] 生之謂性也、形神是也. *Shen kien* 申鑒, "The Work sent to the Emperor for Approbation", ch. V.

its very perfection, whereas the constituting elements of the Cosmos and Man, created by fancy, could be forced therein congruously by mere reasoning, like the several pieces in mosaic work. Not the slightest progress being made by the Chinese in the course of ages in the field of exact science, the wisest men of all times always steadfastly hallowed that system as a monument of the deepest sagacity and intelligence of their venerated ancestry, transmitting it carefully as a most sacred heirloom down to the present day.

That all-embracing, all-explaining system thus having prevailed supreme in Chinese psychology throughout all ages, we shall, for the explanation of Chinese customs and ideas, often have to refer to it. It will therefore be useful to frame a synopsis of its congruent factors and elements:

The Yang 陽 . . . . . produces the Hwun 魂, which governs the Passions.

produces the

Natural Character, Sing 性

which consists of

the Constant Matters, corresponding to	the Viscera,	Elements,	Cardinal Points,	Colours,	Apertures,	Constellations,	and Mansions.
Benevolence 仁	Liver 肝	Wood 木	East 東	Blue 青	Eyes 目	Dragon 龍	Gall 膽
Righteousness 義	Lungs 肺	Metal 金	West 西	White 白	Nose 鼻		Small intestines 小腸
Ceremony and Rites 禮	Heart 心	Fire 火	South 南	Red 赤	Ears 耳	Chang 張 and Sing 星	Great intestines 大腸
Knowledge 智	Kidneys 腎	Water 水	North 北	Black 黑	Passages 竅	Hü 虛 and Wei 危	Bladder 膀胱
Trustworthiness 信	Spleen 脾	Earth 土	Centre 中	Yellow 黃	Mouth 口	Northern Bushel 北斗	Stomach 胃

The Yin 陰 . . . . . produces the P'oh 魄, which governs the Natural Character.

produces the

Passions, Ts'ing 情, which correspond to the Cardinal Points

Joy 喜	West 西
Anger 怒	East 東
Sorrow 哀	Nadir 下
Merriment 樂	Zenith 上
Like 愛	North 北
Dislike 惡	South 南

The fact that Pan Ku quotes some opinions expressed in works now lost, shows that he was the mouth-piece of a school, or that his ideas represent those of the ancients in general. The innate character or instinct of man, his passions and soul in connection with the Cosmos, thus keeping in those times the minds of the learned so busy, it is rather natural that the question whether that character, tutored by the pʿoh or yin soul, is originally good or bad, was greatly agitated. Confucius, to judge from the records we have of his sayings, did not pronounce a decisive opinion on this point, thus leaving it open to debate; and so it is that we see great diversity about the question prevailing among his followers. Shi Seh [1], an adept of his seventy disciples, argued in a treatise, entitled *Yang shu* [2], that the human natural character is a mixture of good and evil, either of which may preponderate in the individual according to whether his education has been good or bad, that character and the passions, he said, being nurtured as well by goodness coming forth from the Yang, as by evil produced by the Yin. The school of Mih Tszĕ-tsien [3] and Tsʿih-tiao Khai [4], disciples of Confucius, and that of Kung-sun Ni [5], a follower of the seventy, though disagreeing with Shi Sheh on some lesser points, gave their adhesion to his great principle that the natural character is a mixture of good and evil [6]. Mencius taught the character is intrinsically good, and that it becomes bad in a later period of life, owing to its being undermined by the influence of examples and circumstances; while Siün Khing or Sun Khing [7], who lived not much posterior to Mencius, started from a principle directly opposite, preaching categorically "that man's innate character "is depraved, and that the good which is in him is merely factitious" [8].

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1 世碩. 2 養書. 3 宓子賤.
4 漆雕開. 5 公孫尼.

6 See *Lun heng*, III, 本性篇. The works of Shi Sheh, Mih Tszĕ-tsien or Mih Puh-tsʿi 宓不齊, and Kung-sun Ni are mentioned in the Catalogue of the Han dynasty, for which see the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, ch. 30, l. 17.

7 荀卿 or 孫卿.

8 人之性惡、其善者僞也. The works of this speculatist, who is known also as Siün Hwang 荀況, are not lost. They are now current in 20 chapters or 32 sections, under the title of *Siün-tszĕ* 荀子. The Philosopher Siün. Of the 23rd. section, which deals with the evil nature of man, Dr. Legge gives a translation as an appendix to his translation of the Works of Mencius, Prolegomena pp. 82 *sqq.*

In the controversy those questions raised, an influential word was spoken also by Khung Kih [1], better known by the name of Tszĕ-szĕ [2], a grandson of Confucius, and reputed author of the *Chung yung*, one of the Confucian standard books. In this work he starts from the principle that man has received his natural character from Heaven: — "What Heaven has ordained or bestowed", says he, "is called the s i n g, and so, following the s i n g is conforming "to the Way or Course (T a o) of the Universe; and following this "Course is effected by what we call instruction" [3]. Thus Tszĕ-szĕ made the chief principle of Taoism, of which we spoke on page 936 of Book I, the substratum of ethics, and his motto amounted to this, that the human character, being an endowment of Heaven, is intrinsically good, and that virtue consists in following it intuitively under certain moral and mental discipline. Such discipline or "instruction" it is what the *Chung yung* pretends to contain; but we find much more wild reasoning in this book than sound logic [4].

Tszĕ-szĕ was not, however, the sole inventor of that doctrine. For also in the *Yih king*, most parts of which are undoubtedly older than the *Chung yung*, we find it propounded in the following terms: "It is the Way of Heaven, in bringing forth universal "evolution and involution, to regulate for every one in particular "its endowments that constitute his character [5]. Anciently, when "the Sages had made the permutations and combinations of lines "(the y i h), they thereby scrutinized thoroughly the laws of Heaven, "thus becoming able to fulfil Heaven's will without laying any "restrictions whatever upon their character" [6].

A sage of the name of Kao Puh-hai [7], known only through some of his discussions with Mencius, which are laid down in the works of this philosopher in a special section, entitled: "Chapters

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1 孔伋.

2 See Book I, pp. 390 and 648.

3 天命之謂性、率性之謂道、修道之謂教.

4 We may here refer the reader to Legge's masterly treatise on the scope and value of the *Chung yung*, contained in the first volume of his Chinese Classics, second edition, pp. 44 *sqq.*

5 乾道變化各正性命. Section 彖傳, I.

6 昔者聖人之作易也窮理、盡性以至於命. Sect. 說卦.

7 告不害.

and Sentences on Master Kao" [1], taught that the natural character of man is neither good, nor bad, but may be conducted into both channels by circumstances and education. "The character", he said, "is like a willow; righteousness is like a cup or bowl; "and the fashioning benevolence and righteousness out of a man's "character is like making cups and bowls of willow wood ..... "The character is like a rushing waterstream; open a passage for "it to the east, and it will flow to the east; open a passage for "it to the west, and it will flow westward; the human character "is just as indifferent to good and evil as the water is indifferent "to east or west ... There is (originally) no good, nor evil in "the character, but some say, it may be rendered good as well "as bad" [2].

Also during the Han dynasty the inherent goodness or badness of the human character agitated the minds of thinkers and speculatists. Tung Chung-shu [3], a celebrated scholar and politician of the second century before our era, who left numerous elucidating notes on the classical and other writings [4], "in reviewing the works "of Siün Khing and Mencius, said in a disquisition about the "passions and the character: 'The great Regulators of the heavens "are the Yin and the Yang, and the great Regulators of man "are his passions and his character, respectively born of the Yin "and the Yang. The influences of the Yin being evil, and those "of the Yang benevolent, we have in whatever is called virtue "in the character, to see a product of the Yang, and in whatever "is called vicious, a product of the Yin'" [5]. Liu Hiang or Liu

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1 告子章句.

2 告子曰、性猶杞柳也、義猶桮棬也、以人性爲仁義猶以杞柳爲桮棬。。。性猶湍水也、決諸東方則東流、決諸西方則西流、人性之無分於善不善也猶水之無分於東西也。。。告子曰、性無善無不善也、或曰、性可以爲善、可以爲不善.

3 董仲舒. 4 See the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, ch. 56, l. 22.

5 覽孫孟之書作情性之說曰、天之大經一陰一陽、人之大經一情一性、性生於陽、情生於陰。陰氣鄙、陽氣仁、曰性善者是見其陽也、謂惡者是見其陰者也. Quoted in the *Lun heng*, ch. III. 本性篇.

Tszĕ-ching [1], the statesman living in the century immediately preceding the Christian era whom we mentioned many times in Book I, flatly rejected the inherent badness of man's character, exclaiming: "Should that theory be correct, then we are forced to "admit that Heaven has no influence. And should good and evil not "be correlated with the Yang and the Yin, where then does the "good come from that man performs?" [2]. His motto was, that "the "character and the passions are correlatives, and that the former is "not exclusively good, nor the latter are exclusively bad" [3]. And Yang Hiung [4], who lived in the time of Christ, likewise was an adherent of the doctrine that the character is a mixture of both good and evil, for we read in his works, still extant under the title of *Fah yen* [5], "Disquisitions on the Regulation (of the conduct?)": "Man's character is a mixture of good and evil. If its good side be "cultivated, he will make a good man, but if the vicious side is "fostered, he will become a bad man" [6].

None of the conclusions arrived at by the ancients in this field of speculations could entirely satisfy the Chinese nation, and the question remained as wide open to debate as it was in the Confucian period. It is, however, highly probable that the thesis that the human natural character is intrinsically good, but corrupted in the course of life by outward influences, so that it is to be carefully guided by instruction and education, has been received more generally than the other theories; for a fact it is that Mencius, its advocate, has in authority as a moralist always been second only to Confucius himself, and that the *Chung yung* has never ceased to be highly thought of in China as the profoundest and sublimest of all treatises on moral philosophy, the world possesses. During the reign of the House of T'ang a famous scholar and statesman arose, who, dissatisfied with the conflicting conclusions of the ancients, tried to

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1 劉子政.

2 如此則天無氣也。陰陽善惡不相當則人之爲善安從生. Quoted in the *Lun heng*, *loc. cit.*

3 性情相應、性不獨善、情不獨惡. *Shen kien*, ch. V.

4 See Book I, p. 1073.

5 法言.

6 人之性也善惡混。修其善則爲善人、修其惡則爲惡人. Ch. II, 修身篇.

reconcile them by a new theory of his own. His name was Han Yü [1]; but he is more generally known by his cognomen T'ui-chi [2], and by his posthumous honorary title of Wen-kung [3]. He lived from 768 to 824. He started from the principle that "the natural character "is born with the individual, and that the passions are produced "by his contact with other beings and things" [4]; the character consists of the five constant matters, and the passions are the seven enumerated in the *Li ki* (ch. 31, l. 33), viz. joy, anger, sorrow, fear, like, dislike, and desire [5]. Agreeing thus far with the ancients, he, different from them, taught that men are born into this world with characters morally different, and he divided them, according to their characters, into three classes, the superior, the middle, and the inferior [6]. The superior grade is innately good, and good only; the middle grade is capable of being guided, and may rise to the superior, or sink down to the inferior; but the inferior grade is innately bad, and bad only. Men endowed with the superior character possess the first of the five constant matters, viz. benevolence, in its highest perfection, and practice the other four; those endowed with the middle character do possess benevolence, but with a little tendency to its opposite, while the other four constant matters are in a disorderly state; and the inferior characters are inclined to oppose the five constant matters altogether. In regard to the seven passions the same classification exists. In superior characters these seven are all active, and each is in its due place; in middle characters some of the passions are in excess and some in defect, but there is an endeavour to give them their proper place and degree; in inferior characters some of the passions are likewise in excess and others in defect, but they ruthlessly go the way in which the passions drive them.

Accordingly, when Mencius tells us that the natural character is good at first, but subsequently becomes bad; when Siün Khing holds that it is bad at first and may afterwards become good; when Yang Hiung teaches that in a man's character good and bad are blended together, so that this time good may preponderate, and at other times evil — they all, says Han Yü, merely take into

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[1] 韓愈. [2] 退之. [3] 文公.

[4] 性也者與生俱生也、情也者接於物而生也.

[5] 喜怒哀懼愛惡欲. Sect. 禮運, II.

[6] 性之品有上中下三.

their account the middle grade, and neglect the other two; they are right about one grade, and wrong about two. The question now presents itself — and herewith his discourse ends — whether the superior and inferior characters can be modified. Indeed, the former can become more enlightened and attain a higher state of intelligence by education and study, while men endowed with the inferior grade may be made to have few faults by being kept in awe and restrained [1].

This novel theory was largely accepted, especially on account of the light it was deemed to shed on the true nature of the superior and inferior kinds of men [2] whom Confucius spoke of so often in his discourses with his disciples. Two or three centuries afterwards it was supplanted by the theories of the philosophers of the Sung dynasty. Without setting forth any fundamental position of their own invention, these schoolmen racked their wits, even more than others had ever done before, over the cosmo-psychological sayings of the ancients. Spinning out those sayings to an infinite length, they showed in every respect a most slavish submission to the infallible ancestral sages *à la mode*, hardly displaying any trace of originality of thought; and the writings they produced may accordingly be contracted into three syllables: Words, words, words. Placing no authority so high as that of the Confucian school, they all implicitly accepted to the very letter the thesis of Tszĕ-szĕ and the *Yih king*, according to which (see p. 28) the human character is an endowment of Heaven; and, as a natural consequence, they subscribed also to the tenet of Mencius respecting the inherent goodness of man, as, indeed, nothing that comes from Heaven can be bad. They furthermore accepted unanimously the identity of the human character with the constant matters, laying, however, stress only upon the first four of them, Mencius having said: "These four "principles naturally belong to a man just as well as his four "limbs . . . . Since we have them in ourselves, let us know "how to give them all their full development and completion [3].

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1 See chapter XI of the commented edition of Han Yü's writings, published in forty chapters under the title of "Complete Collection of the works of Han, the Master of Ch'ang-li" 韓昌黎先生全集. Ch'ang-li was his native place.

2 君子 or 善人, and 小人.

3 人之有是四端也猶其有四體也 。。。凡有四端於我者、知皆擴而充之矣. Sect. 公孫丑, I, 6.

"Benevolence, righteousness, ceremony and rites, and knowledge are "not infused from without; we positively have them in ourselves" [1].

The four constant matters thus constituting man's Heaven-bestowed character, the Sung schoolmen thought it logical to link them to the character of Heaven itself, which is likewise fourfold, the *Yih king* having declared in its first line that the trigram khien, which represents Heaven (see B. I, p. 960), "is great, all-pervading, beneficient, and immutably correct" [2]. "If some greatness is implanted in us as an endowment of Heaven", thus Ch'en Shun [3], a Fuhkienese disciple of Chu Hi, who lived from A.D. 1153—1217, wrote explicitly, "it is what we call benevolence; if some penetration, "beneficence or immutable correctness is implanted in us as an "endowment of Heaven, we call it ceremoniousness, righteousness, "or wisdom" [4]. The constant matters thus are mere instincts, such as even manifest themselves in birds and animals, for without being taught they make their nests and raise their young; the cow shows docility, the dog barks at thieves, the cock crows at sunrise, bees and ants know the relations between king and subject, etc. And it is quite logical that it should be so; for, Heaven and Earth having produced every being and every thing without exception, even plants and trees, metals and stones must have their peculiar sing or characteristics, such as fragility, hardness, ductility, etc.

The field for such idle discussion was considerably enlarged by the excogitation of two more elements in the natural character, respectively denoted by the School as khi 氣, breath or immaterial, etherial substance, and chih 質, material, grosser substance. These two factors may be distinguished by the words soft and hard, quick

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1 仁義禮智非由外鑠我也、我固有之也. Sect. 告子, I, 6.

2 乾元亨利貞.

3 陳淳, also known by his cognomen Ngan-khing 安卿.

4 得天命之元在我謂之仁、得天命之亨在我謂之禮、得天命之利在我謂之義、得天命之貞在我謂之智. Ch. 29 of the *Sing-li ta ts'üen shu* 性理大全書, "Complete Books of natural Moral Philosophy", a voluminous work in 70 chapters embracing the writings of more than 120 philosophers of the Sung school, or copious extracts therefrom. It was brought out under Imperial patronage in 1415 by a committee of 42 scholars, and has held its position as a standard work in this class of literature to this day.

and slow, strong and weak, bright and dull, etc.; they are, like everything, born by the union of the Yang and the Yin, or, which comes to much the same thing, by the co-operation of Heaven and Earth. Should, says Chu Hi, a man possess spontaneous wisdom and intelligence, he proves to have a character in which the khi is very pure (清) and unmixed; inferior degrees of wisdom and intellect are all determined by the degree in which the khi is rendered impure (濁) by the chih. Such purity is to be identified with the Yang, the impurity with the Yin. The two factors are mixed in the "fundamental character" (底性) which man has obtained from Heaven and which forms the substratum of his morals; they are mixed therein like soy and sell with pure water form a seasoned gravy; or we may say, the fundamental heaven-bestowed character is like water which remains pure and limpid when poured into a clean bowl, but which becomes foul or turbid when the bowl is unclean or dirty. It is also like the waters of the Hwang-ho, which, limpid as they are at their sources close by the sky, become turbid on their downward course by flowing through clayey ground, remaining so over the whole length of the stream. Wu Ch'ing [1], also known as Yiu-ts'ing [2], a scholar who, though he lived from 1249—1333, after the downfall of the Sung dynasty [3], is generally reckoned among the preponderant figures of the Sung school, taught that the child before birth receives the khi from its father, either in a pure or an impure condition, and the chih from its mother. If, said he, the khi is extremely pure and the chih excellent, they will endow the man in whom they are implanted, with the highest degree of wisdom (上聖); but the man whose khi is extremely impure and whose chih is thoroughly bad, is the very personification of dullness and the lowest ignorance (下愚) [4].

The inventors of the ingenious doctrine about the khi and the chih were, according to Chu Hi, Chang Tsai [5], also named Tszĕ-heu [6], who lived from 1020—1067, and his contemporaries, the brothers Ch'ing, with one of whom, namely I-ch'wen or Hi, we

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1 吳澄. 2 幼清.

3 See the History of the Yuen Dynasty, ch. 171, l. 8.

4 A compilation of these and other speculations on the khi and the chih the reader will find in ch. 30 and 31 of the *Sing-li ta ts'üen shu*.

5 張載. 6 子厚.

acquainted the reader in Book I; the other bore the name of Hao [1], and his cognomen was Poh-shun [2]. "They are", said Chu Hi, "considered by me to have by their invention deserved much from "the School of the Holy Sages, and to have stimulated the studies "of the future. Those who study their theory cannot fail to be "deeply impressed by it. Previous to them nobody ever reasoned so "far. Philosophers taught that the natural character is bad, or that "it is a mixture of good and evil; but had the theory of Chang "and the Ch'ing appeared earlier, those numerous reasonings would, "of course, have not needed to thus embroil the question. By their "theory the sayings of those philosophers are annulled" [3].

In thus following China's philosophers in their disquisitions about the Heaven-bestowed character of man and its properties, we have been distracted from the passions, which thinkers of pre-Christian times associated with the Cosmos, as they associated the character with it. We saw, indeed (page 26), that Pan Ku gave his entire adhesion to the theory that, while the character is born of the Yang, the passions are produced by the Yin, and correspond with the six cardinal points.

The principal author on this subject, whose works the now living posterity is in possession of, is the same Tung Chung-shu of the second century B.C. of whom we spoke on page 29. "There are", he wrote, "in the human body a natural character and a set of "passions, as surely as there are a Yin and a Yang in the "heavens. To speak of the material nature (chih) of man and "abnegate his passions, is like acknowledging the existence of the "Yang of Heaven, and denying the existence of Heaven's Yin" [4].

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1 皓. 2 伯淳.

3 以爲極有功於聖門、有補於後學。讀之使人深有所感。前此未曾有人說到此。諸子說性惡性善惡混、使張程之說早出、則這許多說話自不用紛爭。故張程之說立則諸子之說泯矣. *Op. cit.*, ch. 30.

4 身之有性情也若天之有陰陽也。言人之質而無其情猶言天之陽而無其陰也. *Ch'un-ts'iu fan lu* 春秋繁露, ch. X, sect. 深察名號. This work in 17 chapters contains abundant notices and elucidations on matters recorded in the ancient books, especially in the *Ch'un-ts'iu*. The title is ambiguous. It signifies perhaps: Broad Exposition of the *Ch'un-ts'iu*.

Harping, in concert with Liu Ngan (s. page 15 *seq.*), on the topic of his age that man, being a product of the Cosmos, his whole person, both bodily and mentally, is a miration of the same, a Cosmos in miniature, he wrote: "It is not possible to become a "man by birth alone; to be a man it is necessary to be produced "by Heaven. The great origin of human existence lies in Heaven, "and Heaven is the great-grandfather of man; hence man is, "above all, an image of Heaven. His material body comes to de- "velopment through a process of evolution from the operative heavenly "numbers; his blood and breath move because they are metamor- "phoses of the will of Heaven; his virtuous conduct is guided by "righteousness because it is an evolution of the laws of Heaven. "Man's likes and dislikes evolve from the warmth of Heaven "and from its freshness, his joy and anger from its cold and "heat, the fate, bestowed on him, from Heaven's four seasons. "The joy, anger, sorrow and merriment, which are innate in "man, answer to spring, autumn, winter and summer, viz. his "joy to spring, his anger to autumn, his merriment to summer, "and his sorrow to winter. The integrant parts of Heaven "thus existing within man, his passions and his character, too, "he must have from Heaven . . . . Outbursts of joy, anger, "sorrow and merriment are, as a matter of fact, correlative with "freshness, warmth, cold and heat. The breath of joy is warmth, "and corresponds therefore with the spring; that of anger is "freshness, and thus corresponds with the autumn; that of "merriment is the Major Yang (see B. I, p. 961), so that it "corresponds with the summer; and the breath of sorrow being "the Major Yin, it corresponds with the winter season. These four "breaths being the communal property of Heaven and man, men "need not cultivate them; hence, also, he may regulate them, but "he can never entirely bridle them; regulate them, and they will "become docile and tractable, but bridle them entirely, and they "become rebellious" [1].

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[1] 爲生不能爲人、爲人者天也。人之大本於天、天亦人之曾祖父也、此人之所以乃上類天也。人之形體化天數而成、人之血氣化天志而行、人之德行化天理而義。人之好惡化天之暖清、人之喜怒化天之寒暑、人之受命化天之四時。人

This strange theory can certainly not boast of much solidity, since its author himself is guilty of gross self-contradiction as to the correlation between the passions and the temperatures of the seasons, and, moreover, his statements are quite incongruent with those of Pan Ku, who, as we saw (p. 26), identified joy, anger, liking and disliking respectively with the West, East, North and South, that is, with autumn, spring, winter and summer. No wonder therefore that the theories of both sages have been entirely superseded in the estimation of later philosophers by quite another, likewise invented by the ancients and bearing, moreover, the approbation of the *Li ki*; it teaches that the passions are not directly implanted in man by the yin part of the Universe, but simply originate in the natural character, of which they are intrinsic parts and manifestations. "At his birth", the *Li ki* says (ch. 50, ll. 21 *sqq.* and 20), "immobility prevails in man, and this is his "heaven-born character. But as he is affected by the things around "him, something becomes active in him, to wit, the desires of his "character. Things come more and more in contact with him, "so that his knowledge of them gradually increases, like and "dislike thus assuming a shape; and if these two passions are not "regulated within him, and his knowledge of the things leads him "astray without, he cannot come back to his own self, and the "celestial principle is extinguished in him.

"The things that act on a man are unlimited in number; and, "when his likes and his dislikes are not regulated, he adapts "himself to the things he comes in contact with, in consequence "of which those things destroy in him the celestial principle, and "make him give the utmost indulgence to his human desires. He

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生有喜怒哀樂之荅春秋冬夏之類也、喜春之荅也、怒秋之荅也、樂夏之荅也、哀冬之荅也。天之副在乎人、人之情性有由天者矣。。。夫喜怒哀樂之發與清煖寒暑其實一貫也。喜氣爲煖而當春、怒氣爲清而當秋、樂氣爲太陽而當夏、哀氣爲太陰而當冬。四氣者天與人所同有也、非人所當畜也、故可節而不可止也、節之而順、止之而亂. The same work, ch. XI, sect. 爲人者天地. and 陽尊陰卑.

"then has a perverse and recalcitrant heart, false and deceitful,
"and possesses properties such as licentiousness and rebelliousness.
"If he is strong, he oppresses the weak; if there are many of his
"sort, they cruelly oppress the few; if he is clever, he cheats the
"dull; if bold, he makes it bitter for the timid; the sick are not
"nursed, the old and the young, orphans and the lonely do
"not obtain their due. This is the way by which the greatest
"disorders come to us. It is for these reasons that the ancient
"Rulers instituted ceremonies and rites, and music, intending
"thereby to restrain the passions of man .... In their institution
"of ceremonies and music they did not seek how they could fully
"satisfy the desires of the mouth, the belly, the ears and the
"eyes; but their aim was to thus teach the people to moderate
"their likes and dislikes, and thereby bring them back into the
"straight path mankind has to walk in" [1].

Our readers will be glad to find here in the end some germs of sound philosophy; indeed, it is undeniably true that the human desires may create strongly marked likes and dislikes, love and hatred, and that these passions, if not properly bridled, may become scourges. The doctrine that those passions should be regulated by means of ceremonies and rites, after the example of imaginary ancient princes, will not appear strange at all, if we take the word li 禮, which we have thus translated, in the broad sense it virtually has in Chinese, a sense which nobody who wishes to properly understand China's social and religious life may lose out of sight: it denotes *all good and proper acts by which man*

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[1] 人生而靜、天之性也。感於物而動、性之欲也。物至知知、然後好惡形焉、好惡無節於內、知誘於外、不能反躬、天理滅矣.

夫物之感人無窮、而人之好惡無節則是物至而人化物也、人化物也者滅天理而窮人欲者也。於是有悖逆詐僞之心、有淫泆作亂之事。是故强者脅弱、衆者暴寡、知者詐愚、勇者苦怯、疾病不養、老幼孤獨不得其所。此大亂之道也。是故先王之制禮樂、人爲之節 ... 是故先王之制禮樂也非以極口腹耳目之欲也、將以教民平好惡而反人道之正也. Sect. 樂記, I.

keeps up his intercourse with other beings of every class or sort, including the dead and the gods. The li thus embraces the active practice of the five constant matters, and ethical philosophers thus quite judicially placed it in the midst of them. Armed with this knowledge, the reader will not have any difficulty in understanding also the train of thought of the unknown ethical author who propounded the following theory about the regulation of the passions by means of those li, a theory which we find in the *Li ki* (ch. 31, l. 33):

"What do we call the human passions? They are joy, anger, "sorrow, fear, liking, disliking, and desire. These seven exercise "their power in man without his learning them. What do we call "human righteousness? It is affection on the part of the father, "submission and devotion (hiao) on that of the son; it is gentleness "on the part of the elder brother, brotherly submission on that of "the younger; it is righteousness on the part of the husband, and "obedience on that of the wife; it is kindness on the part of seniors, "and subjection on that of juniors; it is benevolence on the part "of the Ruler, and loyalty on that of Ministers; these then are the "things which constitute what is called human righteousness. To "preach trustworthiness and cultivate harmony is to be called "promoting the happiness of mankind, but quarrels, plundering and "murder we call things disastrous to man. Hence, the perfect Sage "governs the seven passions of men by the cultivation of the ten "things which constitute righteousness, by preaching trustfulness, "by cultivating harmony, by showing respect to affection and "complaisant courtesy, and by doing away with quarrels and "plundering. If, however, he disregards the li, wherewith then "shall he rule the passions?" [1].

Nor is it difficult to discern the reason why the ancient Rulers thought to govern the passions by means of music. Music accompanies ceremonies and rites, softening the heart, rendering man

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[1] 何謂人情。喜怒哀懼愛惡欲。七者弗學而能。何謂人義。父慈、子孝、兄良、弟弟、夫義、婦聽、長惠、幼順、君仁、臣忠、十者謂之人義。講信修睦謂之人利、爭奪相殺謂之人患。故聖人之所以治人七情脩十義、講信、脩睦、尚慈讓、去爭奪。舍禮何以治之. Sect. 禮運, II.

lenient towards others; it may regulate his joys and sorrows, excite and subdue his anger. Much has been written on this topic by Chinese authors ancient and modern, but we need not follow them now.

It may be noted by the bye, that the doctrine of the *Li ki* that the desires and the passions originate in the natural character was also adhered to by Siün Khing, the ancient sage whom we spoke of on page 27. "The innate character", he wrote, "is a "creation of Heaven, and the passions are the grosser substances "of the character; desires are the consequences of the passions" [1].

The *Li ki* having, ever since the Han dynasty was seated on the throne, been recognized by the nation as a classical standard work of the highest authority, its theses about the passions have been humbly received by all orthodox minds as indisputably correct. Wang Ch'ung [2], the author of the *Lun heng*, who was farther than any Chinaman that ever lived from blind admiration of what the ancient sages deemed good to preach, wrote in the first century of our era: "The passions with the natural character form the "basis of everything by which man is ruled and regulated; (hence) "they are the producers of ceremony and rites and of music. It "is with the object of bringing the original passions and character "to their highest perfection, that ceremony and rites are used as "means to restrain them, and music to keep them within bounds, "in this sense that, whereas the character contains humility, modesty, "complaisance and compliance, rites and ceremony have been "instituted to guide it in the proper way, and, whereas the passions "comprise liking and disliking, joy and anger, sorrow and mer-"riment, music has been invented, with the purpose of making "reverence and respect prevail throughout. Thus, the objects with "a view to which rites and ceremony have been organized and "music instituted, are the passions and the character" [3]. Liu Hieh,

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[1] 性者天之就也、情者性之質也、欲者情之應也. *Siün-tszĕ*, ch. 16, being sect. 22.

[2] 王充. We here apologize for having, by mistake, given the name of this man on page 987 of Book I as Wang T'ung, 王統.

[3] 情性者人治之本、禮樂所由生也。故原情性之極禮爲之方、樂爲之節、性有卑謙辭讓故制禮以適其宜、情有好惡喜怒哀樂故作樂以通其敬。禮所以制、樂所爲作者情與性也. *Lun heng*, ch. III, sect. 本性.

a scholar and statesman who lived in the fifth and the sixth century (see Book I, p. 1155), wrote:

"In the breath borrowed by man (from the Cosmos), surely his "character and his passions are comprised. What the character is "affected by is the passions, and what the passions are satisfied "by is the desires. The passions are produced by the character "and they counteract it; the desires come forth from the passions, "and injure the same.

"The passions do harm to the character, and the latter on its "part restrains them, just as smoke works upon fire, and ice upon "water. Indeed, smoke is produced by fire, and yet smothers it, "and ice is produced by water and stops it in its course; when "there is little smoke the fire blazes, and when the ice melts, the "water can flow freely. So, if the character of a man is correct, "his passions melt away, but when his passions flame up, they "destroy his character.

"Again, as no dust cleaves to a pearl as long as it is bright "and shines, so the passions and lusts do not defile a character "which is clean and pure. But, as the character of a forest, which "is silence, is disturbed when the winds shake it; as the character "of a water-stream, which is limpidity, is defiled when mud renders "it turbid; so the character of man, which is correctness, is cor-"rupted by being darkened by desires and lusts. The lusts play "the same part in the body as grubs in a tree; indeed, by nourishing "such insects in its core the tree is corroded, and by cherishing "desires man injures himself; if the grubs grow plentiful the tree "breaks down, and if the desires flame up the body must perish.....

"The poison of a wasp's sting in the finger may vex a man for "an entire day; a musquito bite in his flesh may disturb his sleep "for a whole night. These insects do him little harm, and pain in "his finger or his flesh is merely an external pain; and yet, man "in the open country evades the stings of wasps, and when at home "he drives the musquitoes away — and why? because they do "harm to his body. But when appetites and lusts conquer his very "heart, so that his correct character is entirely subverted, the "great damage thus caused by those appetites and lusts, the internal "disease thus caused by the conquest of his heart, is of much more "import than his finger or his flesh; and yet, though such outward "pain is lighter than a gossamer, man has learned to evade it, "but the inward evil, heavier than mount T'ai, nobody avoids. "This is like casting off a slight inconvenience to take up a heavy

"injurious burden; is not this the reverse order of things?"[1].

The schoolmen of the Sung dynasty, orthodox as they were to the very core, could not but receive unconditionally the *Li ki* doctrine respecting the passions. Starting from it in their speculations on the subject, they found themselves obliged to take into account another element, viz. the heart, sin 心. Indeed, they could not reasonably disregard the fact that up to their time, ancients and moderns alike had been wont to represent passions, feelings and affections of all kinds as allied with the heart, nor that almost all the graphic signs denoting such emotions contain a hieroglyphic picture of the heart, adjoined as a prefix or suffix. It is even the only character among all those representing internal organs, which has a place in the written language as a fundamental character or hieroglyphic radical, so that the conclusion is, that in the very oldest times, when the Chinese began to depict ideas, the heart was deemed to be the principal internal organ, nay, that it was

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[1] 人之稟氣必有性情。性之所感者情也、情之所安者慾也。情出於性而情違性、慾由於情而慾害情.

情之傷性、性之妨情猶煙冰之與水火也。煙生於火而煙鬱火、冰出於水而冰遏水、故煙微而火盛、冰泮而水通。性貞則情銷、情熾則性滅.

是以珠瑩則塵埃不能附、性明則情慾不能染也。故林之性靜、所以動者風搖之也、水之性清、所以濁者土渾之也、人之性貞、所以邪者慾眩之也。身之有慾如樹之有蝎、樹抱蝎則還自蠹、身抱慾而返自害、故蝎盛則木折、慾熾則身亡。。。

夫蜂蠆螫指則窮日煩擾、蚊蟲嚙膚則通宵失寐。蚊蜂小害、指膚外疾、人入山則避蜂蠆、入室則驅蚊虻、何者、以其害於體也。嗜慾攻心、正性顛倒、嗜慾大害、攻心內疾方於指膚亦以多也、外疾之害輕於秋毫人知避之、內疾之害重於泰山而莫之避。是棄輕患而負重害、不亦倒乎. *Sin lun* 新論. "New Discourses", an interesting philosophical and ethical work in 10 chapters; ch. I, section 防慾.

then the only one which thitherto had been an object of their thoughts. But there was more: the infallible Mencius had categorically declared the heart to be the seat or root of those constant matters of which, as we saw, the natural character is composed. "The sensation of the heart at the pain and distress of others", he said, "is the fundamental principle of benevolence; its feeling "of shame and dislike is the principle of righteousness, its sentiment "of compliance and complaisance the principle of rites and ceremony, "and its feeling of what is right or wrong the principle of knowledge. "Men have these four principles in them as naturally as they "have their four limbs" [1]. A similar doctrine had been taught in a work which claimed for itself a higher antiquity than the writings concerning Mencius, namely the *Kwan Yin-tszè* [2], "The Sage Yin of Kwan" [3]. Its motto was, that "the passions are produced by the "heart, and the heart by the character, the passions being as

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1 惻隱之心仁之端也、羞惡之心義之端也、辭讓之心禮之端也、是非之心智之端也。人之有是四端也猶其有四體也. The Works of Mencius, sect. 公孫丑, I.

2 關尹子.

3 According to tradition, the author of this little work bore the personal name of Hi 喜, and he was an officer in Kwan, whom Lao-tszĕ. the reputed founder of Taoism, met with on passing through that kingdom; *vide* Historical Records, ch. 63, l. 2, and the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, ch. 30, l. 20. It is a fact that a treatise in nine chapters, bearing his name, is mentioned in the Catalogue of Literature contained in the Books of the Han Dynasty; but subsequently there is no evidence of its existence for many ages, no mention being made of it in the Catalogue of the Sui dynasty, nor in that occurring in the Books of that of T'ang. It re-appeared in the reign of the Sung dynasty: but literati of judgment reject its authenticity, chiefly because of its being full of matters of evident modern origin, which even have a strong scent of Buddhism about them, and also on account of the discrepancy between its style and that of the pre-Christian literature. See hereon ch. 146 of the descriptive catalogue of the Imperial library of the present dynasty, completed in 1782 by a commission of princes and high officers appointed for the purpose by the Emperor. This admirable specimen of oriental bibliography, containing not fewer than 200 chapters, bears the title of *Szĕ khu ts'üen shu tsung muh* 四庫全書總目. "General Catalogue of all the Books of the four Treasuries". These Treasuries are the departments into which the Imperial library was divided, designated King pu 經部 or Department of Classics, Shi pu 史部 or that of History, Tszĕ pu 子部 or that of Philosophers, and Tsih pu 集部, that of Belles-Lett[illegible]

"the waves, the heart as the current, and the character as the "water" [1].

Coming now to the Sung schoolmen, we find that Ch'ing I-ch'wen taught "that the embodiment of the natural character is called "the heart, and that the motions produced by the character "are the passions .... The passions are the motions of the natural "character [2]. The heart is compared to a corn-seed, in which all "the principles of the existence (of the plant) are lodged" [3]. Chang Tsai preached "that it is the heart which governs the human "character and passions" [4]; and Chu Hi said: "The natural character "is the principle of the heart, the passions are the motions of the "character, and so the heart is the ruler of the character and the "passions [5]. What we call heart is that which governs the character "and the passions; this means to say that, when the heart is "quiet and unmoved, the principles of benevolence, righteousness, "ceremony, and knowledge together are present in it, but the "parts of it which are moved form the passions" [6].

The speculations of the Sung schoolmen are the highest point Chinese philosophy has reached, and above which it has never been able to soar. Their views have been almost universally received for at least five centuries, and under the reign of the present dynasty the authority of Chu Hi has been exclusively paramount. Building up their theories on no other themes than those prepared by the ancients, they have for an unknown future length of time secured to themselves the authority over a nation to which originality is next to nothing, and which admires nothing so much

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1 情生於心、心生於性、情波也、心流也、性水也. Section 五鑑.

2 自性之有形者謂之心、自性之有動者謂之情。。。情者性之動也. *Sing-li ta ts'üen shu*, ch. 29, l. 5, and ch. 33, l. 1.

3 程子云、心譬如穀種、其中具生之理. *Chu-tsze ts'üen shu* 朱子全書, "Chu Hi's Complete Works", section 性情.

4 心統性情者也. *Sing-li ta ts'üen shu*, ch. 33, l. 1.

5 性者心之理也、情者性之動也、心者性情之主也. *Op. et cap. cit.*, l. 2.

6 心統性情者也、寂然不動而仁義禮智之理具焉、動處便是情. The Complete Works of Chu Hi, sect. 性情.

as antidulivian wisdom. Even in working out those themes they plundered earlier authors for ideas, metaphorical expressions, tropes and rhetorical figures, thus decorating their writings in all parts with borrowed plumes. In following them in their ideas about the character, the passions and the heart of man we could not, of course, enter into the recesses of their tedious reasonings. Nor will we now lose ourselves in their discussions about what they called "settling or fixing the natural character" [1], that is to say, the art to regulate the passions. More than any authors of previous ages they devoted their attention to the human talents, ts'ai [2], which they deemed to be produced by the khi and the chih of the character, and to be good or bad according to whether the khi is pure or turbid. They have discoursed also on szĕ-li [3] or "thoughts and longings", on chi [4] or "aspirations", on teh [5] or intrinsic virtues, on the five constant matters etc. But all these matters we must pass over, because they are in reality alien from our original subject, all those authors having failed to develop any plausible ideas on the ties that connect them with the Soul.

Indeed, it appears to have been too much for the mental faculties of the Chinese race to fathom the mysteries of those ties. The ancients did not express themselves clearly on so abstruse a point, silently contenting themselves with admitting that the ties do exist. Siün Khing, the advocate of the innate badness of man, of whom we spoke on page 27, held that the yang soul stands entirely under the influence of the heart, just as the other constituents of man; "the heart", thus we read in the writings that bear his name, "is the chief governor of the body and also "the master of the shen-ming; the orders it issues are obeyed "by all parts of the body without exception" [6]. And Pan Ku, as we saw on page 23, declared four centuries later that the yang soul governs the passions, and the yin soul the character; while again a couple of centuries later Siün Yueh roundly identified the character with the yang soul (see p. 24).

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1 定性. 2 才. 3 思慮.
4 志. 5 德.
6 心者形之君也、而神明之主也、出令而無所受令. *Siün-tszĕ*, ch. 15, sect. 解蔽.

A little treatise in two chapters, entitled *Tszĕ-hwa tszĕ*[1], "The Philosopher Tszĕ-hwa", which originally existed with the name of Ch'ing Pen[2] of the Tsin dynasty as its author, but, after being lost for a time, re-appeared, probably as a spurious reproduction, is, so far as we know, the first work which enlarged on the connection of the soul with the operations of the mind and its faculties. "When the five viscera are completed, the shen breath settles "in the heart, the hwun breath then assuming a well-finished "form, and the individual thus becoming an accomplished man. "Thus the five viscera and the six mansions are each under the "influence of a shen. The tsing or operative energy of the soul "is borrowed from the elements Metal and Fire; the breath is "mixed harmoniously with influences of Water and Wood, and "by the union of the tsing and the breath ten things are produced, "to wit: the tsing, the shen, the hwun, the p'oh, the heart, "the will, the aspirations, the thoughts or thinking faculties, "knowledge, and longings. That from which life comes forth "is the tsing, and that which manifests itself when two tsing "come into active mutual contact is the shen; that which "inseparably accompanies the shen hither and thither is the "hwun, and that which accompanies the tsing in all its motions "in and out is the p'oh. That which causes things to be understood "is the heart; the calculations of the heart constitute the will; "the results of the will are the aspirations; the product of the "aspirations is thought, and what thoughts are directed upon "is the things longed after; but in anxious longing there is an "element which decides and distinguishes, viz. knowledge ..... "Thus if the tsing supersedes the shen, it stifles it; a stifled "shen suppresses the hwun; a fettered hwun smothers the "p'oh; a straying p'oh wastes the heart; a wicked heart leads the "aspirations astray; wild aspirations entrap the will; a captivated "will entangles the thoughts; obstructed thoughts endanger the "longings; exhausted longings dim the knowledge; and when the "knowledge is obstructed, the individual becomes stupid ....

"The heart is the chief of the five viscera and the six mansions; "it is the lodging-place of the shen imbued with operative energy. "Its own tsing or operative energy is Fire; its breath is the "trigram li; it has a red colour; its shape is that of a lotus turned

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[1] 子華子. [2] 程本.

"upside down; its shen is the Red Bird, and its apertures commu-"nicate upward with the tongue". In this tune our speculatist harps forth a while in respect of the four other viscera, combining them with the Elements, the colours, and the openings of the body in the same way as Pan Ku did (see p. 26), but improving on the latter in so far as he lets, as we saw, the heart communicate with the tongue, and the kidneys with the ears! Instead of identifying the liver, the lungs, the heart and the kidneys directly with the four cardinal points, he assimilates them with the kwa and the Celestial Animals that represent those points (comp. B. I, pp. 963 and 949), finally assimilating the spleen with the Earth or centre of the Universe by stating its breath to lie in the cyclical signs wu and ki (comp. B. I, p. 966). "The will", he then goes on to say, "being hidden in the spleen, the tsing in the kidneys, the "shen in the heart, the hwun in the liver, and the p'oh in the "lungs, those five forces (tsing) are under the supremacy of the "five Elements" [1].

In the writings bearing the name of the sage Yin of Kwan, with which we have already acquainted the reader, the imaginary influence exercised by the five Elements over those tsing or forces, is spun out by bringing into play the creating, neutralizing

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[1] 五臟成就神氣舍心、魂氣畢具然後成人。是故五臟六腑各有神主。精稟於金火、氣諧於水木、精氣之合是生十物、精神魂魄心意志思智慮是也。生之所自謂之精、兩精相薄謂之神、隨神往反謂之魂、竝精出入謂之魄。所以格物謂之心、心有所憶謂之意、意之所存謂之志、志之所造謂之思、思而有所顧慕謂之慮、慮而有所決擇謂之智 。。。是以精上則滯神、惛則伏魂、拘則沉魄、散則耗心、忮則惑志、鬱則陷意、營則罔思、澀則殆慮、殫則蒙智、礙則愚 。。。

夫心也五六之主也、精神之舍也。心之精爲火、其氣爲離、其色赤、其狀如覆蓮、其神爲朱鳥、其竅上通於舌 。。。脾之藏意、腎之藏精、心之藏神、肝之藏魂、肺之藏魄、金木水火土五精之總也. TS, sect. 人事, ch. 21.

and destroying influences which, as our readers know from Book I, the Elements are supposed to exercise upon each other, some discoveries being thus made as to the relations between those forces mutually. "The tsing is Water, the pʿoh Metal, the shen "Fire, and the hwun Wood. Thus, as the tsing belongs to "Water, and the pʿoh to Metal, and Metal is an element which "produces Water (see B. I, p. 957), we have the reason at hand "why the tsing is hidden in the pʿoh (*i. e.* like Water in Metal). "And as the shen belongs to Fire, and the hwun to Wood, and "Wood is the element by which Fire is produced, it follows that "the shen must lie hidden in the hwun (that is, like Fire in "Wood). Fire as a material substance can melt Metal and transform "it into a fluid mass; it can ignite Wood and burn it; consequently "the shen (which corresponds to Fire) can eclipse the hwun and "the pʿoh" [1] ... And so forth.

Taking into consideration that, according to Chinese ideas, the five Elements are the constituents of the Cosmos, it follows here that Tszĕ-hwa and Yin followed the ancients in their deeming man to be a molecule of the Universe, animated by the same forces as the Universe itself: a microcosm in the full sense of the word. This conception is pronounced more positively still by Yin when he says: "In the heavens the tsing forms cold, on the "earth it corresponds with water, and in man it is his tsing. "The shen is heat in the sphere, fire on the earth, and a "shen in man. The pʿoh represents drought in heaven, metal on "earth, and in man his pʿoh. The hwun is wind in heaven, "wood on earth, and a hwun in man. Thus the several tsing "which dwell in us form one single tsing with those of heaven "and earth and all that exists, just as ten thousand waters "can merge into one single vast expanse. The several shen "of our human race are blended with those of the Universe "and the whole creation like ten thousand fires may unite into "one single fire. Our pʿoh are fused with those of the Cosmos

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[1] 精者水、魄者金、神者火、魂者木。精主水、魄主金、金生水、故精者魄藏之。神主火、魂主木、木生火、故神者魂藏之。惟火之爲物能鎔金而銷之、能燔木而燒之、所以神冥魂魄. Sect. 四符.

"and all that is produced therein, as metals, considered as material "substances, can be mixed with other metals and fused up "therewith into a single mass. And our h w u n are conglomerated "with those of heaven, earth and the whole creation, just as wood, "as a material substance, can be ingrafted upon wood of another "sort, and grow up with it into a single tree. As thus the whole "Cosmos with everything that exists in it is our t s i n g, our "s h e n, our p'o h, our h w u n, what is death? what is life?" [1].

From the above pages, which form an epitome of all the principal speculations on the human soul which are known to have existed in China in print down to the Sung dynasty, the reader may fairly judge for himself that only poor harvests are to be reaped in the oriental field of psychological and physiological wisdom, and that attempts to sift some wheat out of this mount of chaff are of no earthly use. The numerous philosophers of the Sung dynasty give us nothing original, the quintessence of what these humble slaves of the dictions of the ancients have to tell us on the subject being hardly anything but a repetition of the passages from the *Li ki*, the *Yih king* and other old works, which we have reviewed methodically in the first pages of this chapter. Their tedious disquisitions consequently cannot any longer inspire us with interest, except for some extra ideas and conceptions they acquaint us with, likewise closely allied with the ancient philosophical notions, and apparently entertained by the Chinese nation since all times known, their prevalence being betrayed spontaneously by its literature of every age. We think here to serve our readers best by sifting out of those writings

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[1] 惟精在天爲寒、在地爲水、在人爲精。神在天爲熱、在地爲火、在人爲神。魄在天爲燥、在地爲金、在人爲魄。魂在天爲風、在地爲木、在人爲魂。惟以我之精合天地萬物之精譬如萬水可合爲一水。以我之神合天地萬物之精譬如萬火可合爲一火。以我之魄合天地萬物之魄譬如金之爲物可合異金而鎔之爲一金。以我之魂合天地萬物之魂譬如木之爲物可接異木而生之爲一木。則天地萬物皆吾精吾神吾魄吾魂、何者死、何者生. *Op. et loc. cit.*

the principal theses and theories, and arranging them in a logical sequence. Thus, considering that the Sung school has exercised an all-commanding influence over the Chinese mind down to this day, a standard catechism of doctrines about the human soul may be obtained, with which every student of Animism and Ancestral Worship who wishes for more than a very superficial knowledge of this main section of the Chinese Religious System, has to render himself familiar.

As a first article of their creed, the Sung schoolmen unreservedly adopted the fundamental theories about the human soul, which are to be found in the ancient Classics, and which were contracted in a few lines on page 5. Every one reasoned of them in his own way, but none did so with such laconic precision as the scholarly statesman Wei Liao-weng [1], who lived in the first half of the thirteenth century: "Those parts of the universal breaths (Yang "and Yin) which, having attained the highest development, expand "(伸, pronounced shen), form shen; but those which revert and "retreat (歸, pron. kwei) form kwei. When implanted in a man, "they are his hwun, composed of yang substance, which forms "his shen; and his pʿoh, consisting of yin substance and "forming his kwei. When these two universal breaths mix (in "his body), the hwun agglomerates and the pʿoh consolidates, "and thus they produce his life. But when they leave his body, "the hwun ascends and (again) becomes a shen, while the pʿoh "descends to become a kwei" [2]. Accordingly, as Chen Teh-siu [3], Wei Liao-weng's contemporary, expresses it: "the breaths that "animate Heaven and Earth are the breaths of the human body, "and the breaths of the human body are the same as those of "Heaven and Earth" [4].

Thus accepting the ancient theory about the eternal migration

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1 魏了翁, cognomen: Hwa-fu 華父.

2 宇宙之間氣之至而伸者爲神、反而歸者爲鬼。其在人焉則陽魂爲神、陰魄爲鬼。二氣合則魂聚魄凝而生。離則魂升爲神、魄降爲鬼. *Sing-li ta tsʿüen shu*, ch. 28.

3 眞德秀, cognomen: King-yuen 景元.

4 天地之氣卽人身之氣、人身之氣卽天地之氣也. *Op. et loc. cit.*

of shen and kwei out of the Yang and the Yin into beings, and from the beings back into this dual universal power, the Sung schoolmen could not but subscribe also the ancient doctrine, given by us on page 13, according to which the Universe is filled up in all its parts with legions of shen and kwei. Consequent of the omnipresence of these invisible powers, every being, thus they taught, and every thing that exists is animated either by a shen, or by a kwei, or by a shen and a kwei together. "As there is no thing "or being in Heaven or on Earth", says Chu Hi's disciple Ch'en Shun, "which does not consist of yin substance and yang "matter, and the Yin and Yang are omnipresent, so kwei and "shen likewise exist in all places wheresoever" [1]. "The kwei and "the shen", Lü Ta-chung [2] adds, "float about everywhere in the "heavens and on the earth; there is no place where there are "none. Though they may be quiet and inactive, yet they have "communion with us if we influence them; and even when "shapeless and voiceless, they possess what we call luminous "manifestation, being on this account not to be disregarded" [3]. "Winds, thunder, and other phenomena of the heavens, moun- "tains, streams and other parts of the earth, everything, in short, "which is fit to receive breath," says Chang Ch'ih [4], a contemporary of Chu Hi, "is a shen. And the ancestors to whom we offer "sacrifices in their temples, are kwei. When we speak of shen "and kwei with reference to men and beings in general, we "mean those substances which, confluing in them and thus causing "them to live, form their shen, and those which, dispersing and "thereby causing their death, form their kwei; and when we "speak of the kwei and the shen dwelling in a single body, we "mean the immaterial hwun substance that forms its shen, and "the material p'oh which constitutes its kwei" [5].

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1 天地間無物不是陰陽、陰陽無所不在、則鬼神亦無所不有. *Op. et cap. cit.*

2 呂大忠, cognomen: Tsin-poh 進伯.

3 鬼神者周流天地之間、無所不在。雖寂然不動而有感必通、雖無形無聲而有所謂昭、昭不可欺者. *Op. et cap. cit.*

4 張栻, cognomen: King-fu 敬夫.

5 天地山川風雷之屬凡氣之可接者皆曰神。

The ancients having, as we likewise saw on page 13, taught it is the infinite myriads of shen and kwei that, in the capacity of constituents of the Yang and the Yin, play a prominent part in the Cosmos as being the causation of all the phenomena of creation, metamorphosis and destruction, the Sung schoolmen also made this thesis a prominent article in their animistic catechism. "Those who cause the metamorphoses and evolutions in Heaven "and Earth to manifest themselves, and prompt and accelerate "them", says Chang Tsai, "are the kwei and the shen" [1]. And Chen Teh-siu adds: "The kwei and the shen which cause "creation and evolution to take place, are those of lands and "meres, water and fire, thunder and wind; those of the sun "and lightning belong to fire, and those of the moon and the "rains to water. When we speak of those several spirits unitedly, "we consider them to signify merely the two universal breaths "Yang and Yin; and the Yang and the Yin in their capacity "of breaths that flow about between the heavens and the earth, "causing everything that exists to be created and accomplished, "we call kwei and shen. The people at present only consider "moulded images and painted portraits to be kwei and shen, "as also the invisible beings that abide in the World of Darkness; "and they hardly comprehend that mounts and hills, rivers and "streams, sunshine, rain-fall, thunder-claps, and the working of "winds bear clear evidences in themselves as being observable kwei "and shen" [2].

The influence thus exercised by the kwei and the shen

祖考祠饗於廟曰鬼。就人物而言之、聚而生爲神、散而死爲鬼、又就一身而言之、魂氣爲神、體魄爲鬼. *Op. et cap. cit.*

[1] 天地變化至著至速者曰爲鬼神. *Ibid.*

[2] 至若造化之鬼神則山澤水火雷風是也、日與電皆火也、月與雨亦水也。此數者合而言之又只是陰陽二氣而已、陰陽二氣流行於天地之間、萬物賴之以生、賴之以成、此卽所謂鬼神也。今人只以塑像畫像爲鬼神、及以幽暗不可見者爲鬼神、殊不知山峙川流日照雨潤雷動風散乃分明有迹之鬼神. *Ibid.*

throughout the Universe is subject to a law, according to which the one category alternately has the upper hand over the other, a law which we might appropriately call that of Dilatation and Contraction, or of Deployment and Recession. "The meaning "generally attached to the word shen", says Ch'en Shun, "is "dilatation (伸, likewise pronounced shen), that is to say, ex- "pansion of the Universal Breaths; and the meaning attached to "the word kwei is recession (歸, likewise pron. kwei), to wit, "the retirement of those Breaths. As to the heavens and the earth, "the former belong to the Yang, and therefore consist of shen, "and the latter is identic with the Yin, and thus consists of kwei. "As to the four seasons, the dilatation of the Universal Breaths "in spring and summer pertains to the shen, but their retreat "in autumn and winter pertains to the kwei. So also, daylight "and the sun are subject to the shen, while the night and the "moon depend on the kwei. When the atmosphere is stirred "by roaring thunder, or moistened by winds and rains, there "prevails a distension of the Breaths, and so those phenomena are "under the direction of the shen; but when, after the harvest, "calm reigns in the skies, and the said phenomena have disappeared "without leaving a trace, we have a retirement of the Breaths, which "is subject to the kwei. Applying the same law to the daytime, "we find that the fore-noon belongs to the shen, because the sun "is then ascending; but the afternoon, during which it retrogrades, "belongs to the kwei. Applying it to a monthly period: — from "the third day, when the moon waxes, it is under the supremacy "of the shen; but after the fifteenth it belongs to the kwei. "Similarly, plants and trees are under the sway of the shen or "the kwei according to whether they produce branches and foliage, "or fade and shed their leaves; the rising flood-tide belongs to the "shen, and the retiring ebb to the kwei. In short, every dilatation "of the Breaths of the Universe is Yang, and stands under the "influence of shen, while every regression of those Breaths is Yin, "and is subject to the kwei; — this is the sum and substance "of all the discourses of the ancients on the kwei and the shen" [1].

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[1] 大抵神之爲言伸也、伸是氣之方長者也、鬼之爲言歸也、歸是氣之已退者也。自天地言之、天屬陽、神也、地屬陰、鬼也。就四時言之、春夏氣之伸屬神、秋冬氣之屈屬鬼。又自晝夜分之、

This interpretation of the words shen and kwei by means of two homonyms expressing dilatation and recession had been admitted as perfectly correct by Chinese scholars already many ages before the Sung school existed; and though it is, of course, merely a worthless off-shoot from the frivolous system of paronomastic etymology of which we gave already many instances in Book I, it forms, as we now see, an important factor in the system of Chinese Animism. It induces us to contemplate the symbol 神 with somewhat more attention than hitherto we have bestowed on it. Undoubtedly it is very old, for it occurs in the most ancient books. It is composed of two parts, 示 and 申. The first of these components is the most important, as being the radical, by which term Sinologists are wont to indicate the 214 most prominent components of all the characters the Chinese possess, and among which are grouped the most ancient among the latter. It can hardly be called in question that it is a hieroglyph, though its primitive shape is lost in the night of early times. It may have been a rude picture of a ghost or spirit, being, indeed, the radical of a few characters representing spirits and divinities, and of several dozen meaning religious matters and performances in which such beings play a part. Nevertheless, as a separate character, 示, does not actually occur in the language with the meaning of soul or ghost, but especially signifies "to manifest, reveal, show, announce", etc., meanings which may have been derived from its primitive signification, inasmuch as, according to the Chinese of all times, souls and spirits effectually manifest their existence and influence.

As to the second part of the character 神; considering that it has the sound shen, we may suppose it was originally used to

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晝屬神、夜屬鬼、就日月言之、日屬神、月屬鬼。又如鼓之以雷霆、潤之以風雨、是氣之伸、屬神、及至收斂後怗然無蹤跡、是氣之歸、屬鬼。以一日言之、則早起日方升屬神、午以後漸退屬鬼。以月言之、則月初三生來屬神、到十五以後屬鬼。如草木生枝生葉時屬神、衰落時屬鬼、如潮之來屬神、潮之退屬鬼。凡氣之伸者皆爲陽、屬神、凡氣之屈者皆爲陰、屬鬼、古人論鬼神大槩如此. *Ibid.*

represent the idea of "soul" simply because of its sound, and that, to define it sharper, the radical 示 was prefixed to it afterwards. But we have just now seen that the scholars of the Sung epoch entertained another opinion; indeed, they regarded the component 申 as really imparting a *meaning* to the compound 神, namely, that of dilatation, expansion, deployment, ideas more generally expressed by its derivative 伸, which likewise has the sound shen. This play upon words was no novel invention of their own, the author of the *Shwoh wen* having stated already in the first century of our era, "that the shen of Heaven produce everything by their distension" [1]. And Wang Ch'ung had written about the same time: "Shen signifies dilatation (shen). This dilatation repeats itself "endlessly, for when it is finished it begins anew" [2].

Of a similar nature is the identification of the kwei soul with the idea of recession; in fact, it merely rests on the accidental circumstance that the Chinese language has a homonymous word, written 歸, which has the meaning of "to return, to retreat". No lesser authority than the great Confucius preached the cognation of the two homonyms, for according to a passage translated by us on page 3, he said to his disciple Tsai Ngo, that the soul is called kwei because it returns (kwei) to the earth. Like everything which bears the stamp of Confucian origin, this philological diction from the sage's lips has been submissively accepted by subsequent scholars, and even grammarians adopted it as perfectly correct, the author of the *'Rh ya*, for instance, writing that "the meaning of the word kwei is to return (kwei)" [3]. Also in the *Shwoh wen* we read: "That part of man which returns, is his kwei" [4]; and Wang Ch'ung declared: "It is called kwei, or to return, because the bony remains of man return to the earth" [5]. Thus nothing better than paronomastical play is the groundwork for the theory of the Sung school about the phenomena of Reces-

1 天神引出萬物者也. First section, I.

2 神者伸也。申復無已、終而復始. *Lun heng*, ch. 20, sect. 論死.

3 鬼之爲言歸也. Sect. 釋訓.

4 人所歸爲鬼. Ninth section, I.

5 骸骨歸土、故謂之鬼、鬼者歸也. *Lun heng*. ch. 20, sect. 論死.

sion which manifest themselves in Nature. The leading men of that school generally express them by the character 屈, the fundamental meaning of which is "reduction within smaller dimensions".

After all, the substance of that babbling about the part which the shen and the kwei perform in the Universe is that the former cause growth, production and life, and, as such, are assimilated with light and warmth, while the kwei are the agents in decline, destruction and death, and, in this capacity, are identified with darkness and cold. "The day and life", says Chu Hi, "are "assimilated with the shen; the night and death with the kwei; "is not there, accordingly, a sharp line of demarcation between "these two categories of beings? One of his disciples asked him: "'I have heard you say that the day is the time of the shen, "and the night that of the kwei, so that the latter appear "especially during the night; how is that?' — 'Some do so indeed', "was the answer, 'but we must not here generalize. The fact is, "that the night belongs to the Yin, and as birds of bad omen do, "which belong all to the Yin, so souls cry during the night-time. "Rains, winds, dew, thunder, the sun, the moon, the day and the "night are altogether the effects of the operation of the kwei "and the shen, that is to say, of such among them as manifest "themselves in broad daylight and are just and equitable, straightforward and artless. But those which are reported to groan or "whistle on the tops of house-roofs, and to butt against our breasts, "are, I say, unstraightforward evil-bringing powers of darkness, "which are sometimes present, at other times absent; they come "and they go, either seeking each other's company, or avoiding it. "Finally there exist beings which are stated to hear our prayers, "so that we may get what we ask them for; and these beings are "likewise of the same nature as the kwei and the shen'" [1].

[1] 如日爲神、夜爲鬼、生爲神、死爲鬼、豈不是界分。問先生前說、日爲神、夜爲鬼、所以鬼夜出、如何。曰、間有然者、亦不能皆然。夜屬陰、且如妖鳥皆陰類、皆是夜鳴。雨風露雷日月晝夜此鬼神之迹也、此是白日公平正直之鬼神。若所謂有嘯于梁、觸于胸、此則所謂不正邪暗、或有或無、或去或來、或聚或散者。又有所謂禱之而應、祈之而獲、此亦所謂鬼神同一理也. *Sing-li ta ts'üen shu*, ch. 28.

It now remains for us to complete our review of the animistic catechism of the Sung philosophers by giving a synopsis of their principal views regarding the part the dual soul plays while still residing in the living human body. Considering, as all Chinese thinkers did and do, that the heavenly sphere, which infuses shen or hwun into beings, is in perpetual motion, and that the earth, which produces kwei and pʿoh, is an inert mass, Chu Hi taught, "that the hwun is the element of motion or action, and the pʿoh "that of immobility and inaction; in other words, the hwun "in general produces a man's acts and deeds, and the pʿoh lacks "the power to do so" [1]. And consequent of the belief that the Yang and the Yin pervade the whole Cosmos, and their dilatation and contraction call forth all phenomena, the Yang and the Yin were admitted to rule also every part of the bodies of beings, and all their acts and functions. "As man exists and lives because he "is endowed with yin breath and yang breath, there is", says Chʿen Shun, "no part in or about his person which is not either "yin or yang. His breath, for example, his pulses or arteries, "his head and upper limbs are yang, but his blood, trunk, feet "and lower limbs are yin [2]. When his mouth speaks or is silent, "when his eyes are awake or asleep, when his nose inhales or "exhales breath, or his arms and legs extend or retract, he has in "all those cases to do with actions belonging respectively to the "Yang or the Yin. Not only this is so with regard to man, but "also with regard to every being and thing that exists .... And "as there is no being or thing extant in the Universe which "is not full enough of Yang and Yin, so neither does there "exist any being or thing which does not consist of a kwei and "a shen..... Action and inaction, advance and recession, motion "and immobility, all these things are caused respectively by the "Yang and the Yin; and when they proceed from the Yang, "they appertain to the hwun or the shen, while those which "proceed from the Yin are caused by the pʿoh or kwei. From "his childhood until he is grown-up, the breaths in a man dilate, "and therefore this period of his life is under the supremacy of "his shen; but after middle age, when he deteriorates and grows

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[1] 動者魂也、靜者魄也、凡能運用作爲皆魂也、魄則不能也. *Op. et cap. cit.*

2 Compare herewith the ideas of Liu Ngan about the identity of the different parts of the human body with Heaven and Earth, as exposed by us on page 15.

"old, the breaths are in their period of contraction, and stand "accordingly under the influence of his kwei. As to life and "death: the former is an expansion of the breaths, and death their "recession. After death the hwun ascends, to live on as a shen, "while the pʿoh descends, to continue its existence as a kwei, "and this is so because the hwun breath took its origin from the "heavens, and the pʿoh from the earth" [1].

Under the influence of the psychological theory anciently pronounced by Tszĕ-chʿan (see p. 10), Chu Hi preached that "beings "first possess a pʿoh, and acquire a shen at a later period of "their life, so that the pʿoh constantly has the upper hand in a "person, and operates in him as a fundamental force" [2]. Likewise biased by the old tradition that the yang soul is identic with the breath, the same philosopher taught, that "the respiration through "the mouth and the nose is produced by the hwun. The hearing "and the sight he represented to be manifestations of the pʿoh, "it being by the active use of this soul that a man, through his "eyes and ears, gets a clear understanding of things and matters" [3]. His son-in-law Hwang Kan [4], a deserving servant of the State and

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[1] 蓋人受陰陽二氣而生、此身莫非陰陽。如氣陽、血陰、脉陽、體陰、頭陽、足陰、上體爲陽、下體爲陰。至於口之語默、目之寤寐、鼻息之呼吸、手足之屈伸、皆是陰陽分屬。不特人如此、凡萬物皆然。。。天地間無一物不足陰陽、則無一物不是鬼神。。。動靜進退行止皆有陰陽、凡屬陽者皆爲魂爲神、凡屬陰者皆爲魄爲鬼。人自孩提至於壯是氣之伸、屬神、中年以後漸漸衰老、是氣之屈、屬鬼。以生死論則生者氣之伸、死者氣之屈。就死上論則魂之升者爲神、魄之降者爲鬼、魂氣本乎天故騰上、體魄本乎地故降下. *Op. et cap. cit.*

[2] 先有魄而後有魂、故魄常爲主爲幹. *Ibid.*

[3] 口鼻之嘘吸爲魂。耳目之聰明爲魄也、見於目而明、耳而聰者是魄之用. *Ibid.*, l. 15.

[4] 黃榦; his cognomen is Chih-khing 直卿, and his posthumous honorary title is Wen-suh 文肅.

a Fuhkienese by birth, wrote: "The power by which the ears are "enabled to hear, and the eyes to see, is produced by the p'oh, "and that which causes the heart to think and to ponder is "produced by the hwun" [1]. And in Ch'en Shun's writings we read: "The inhalations and exhalations through the mouth and the "nose are manifestations of the effectual power of the breath, and "consequently they are dominated by the hwun; but the hearing "and the sight, being manifestations of the intelligence of the "corporeal body, are under the dominion of the p'oh.... Con-"sciousness is affiliated with the hwun" [2]. Chen Teh-siu likewise harped to the same tune when he wrote: "The power by which the eyes see and the ears hear, is produced by the tsing" [3] — the schoolmen of that time generally understanding by this term the operative energy of the p'oh, and even the p'oh itself.

Some savants, not reckoned among the philosophers of the Sung school, have likewise speculated on the relation of the two souls to certain organs and functions of the body, thereby coming to remarkable discoveries. They have found that the shen is the observable manifestation (ling) of the heart, the p'oh that of the gall [4], the hwun that of the spleen, and the tsing that of the arteries or pulses [5]. However admirable these fruits of their brains may be, we must leave it to the reader to judge whether we have not to feel still more admiration for their discovery that the shen of the heart manifests itself in the eyes, thus enabling the owner of that viscus to see, while the p'oh of the gall is the cause of speech, the hwun of the spleen that of the smell, and the tsing of the pulses that of hearing. But let it be remarked that other authors, likewise very sage, and even more ancient, have combined the eyes, not with the heart, but with the liver, and the nose with the lungs, as we see at a glance from the table on page 26. We opine therefore that we had better not squander more of our time and space on such imbecile shuffling of psycho-

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[1] 耳目之所以能視聽者魄爲之也、此心之所以能思慮者魂爲之也. *Ibid.*

[2] 如口鼻呼吸是氣那靈處、便屬魂、視聽是體那聰明處、便屬魄...人之知覺屬魂. *Ibid.*

[3] 目之所以明、耳之所以聰者即精之爲也. *Ibid.*

[4] 膽. [5] 脈.

logical terms, however great the admiration may be which Chinese scholars and savants entertain for it.

A proper insight into the conceptions of the Sung school about the part which the dual soul plays in the body of the person whom it animates, will render it most easy to comprehend also their ideas about debility of the senses and vital spirits in consequence of disease, advanced age or other causes, as also those about death. We have stated already (pp. 57 *seq.*) that Ch'en Shun ascribed the debility which produces itself in a person whom age undermines, to a growing preponderance of his p'oh or kwei, combined with a proportional decline of his hwun or shen, death being — as the ancients taught — an ultimate separation of the hwun and the p'oh from each other, each of these souls then receding into the universal hwun and p'oh represented respectively by Heaven and Earth. "As long as the hwun "and the p'oh keep together", Chen Teh-siu says, "life exists; "but death ensues when they separate from each other" [1]. Cases of persons suddenly falling ill or breathing their last having always taught the Chinese every day that such separation is a constant lurking danger, it cannot much astonish us to read in the writings of Chu Hi "that most people think with anxiety of "the possibility of their hwun separating itself completely from "their kwei, knowing that, when the former is no longer in them, "the latter cannot maintain itself.... When the hwun departs, "the p'oh becomes powerless.... What causes weakness and debility, "disease and death is dissolution of the breaths in the individual; "and when these vanish completely, he is dead" [2].

These theories about disease and death following, as they do, logically from the ideas which the ancients entertained about the human soul, we may suppose them to have prevailed long before the Sung school. In fact, we read in Koh Hung's writings, which date from the fourth century of our era: "Men, the wise as well as "the stupid, all know that they have a hwun and a p'oh in "their bodies, and that, when these two souls leave them partly, "illness must ensue, while, if they vanish entirely, death must be

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1 魂魄合則生、離則死. *Sing-li ta ts'üen shu*, ch. 28.

2 無魂則魄不能以自存、今人多思慮役役魂都與魄相離了。。。魂若去、魄則不能也。。。若是寇羸病死底人這氣消耗、盡了方死. *Ibid.*

"the consequence. Thus it is that the adepts of mystic arts possess "certain means for detaining separating souls, and that the Canons "of Rites contain ceremonies for the calling back of souls entirely "departed" [1].

The question whether the soul lives forth as an entity after the death or annihilation of the body, or whether it is then absorbed by the Universe, being a question decisive for the to-be or not-to-be of the worship of ancestors, it cannot be expected to have been entirely neglected by China's psychologists. But the ancients having admitted its continuance quite tacitly as an axiom, or even preached it roundly, opposite opinions might crop up, but could not possibly thrive in a country where the national mind was always dominated thoroughly by the old writings, so that authors professing such heterodoxy publicly could not appear but phenomenally. Perhaps their writings have been esteemed too little to survive.

A prominent figure among such abnegators is Fan Chen [2], who lived under the Liang dynasty. He composed a discourse of some nineteen hundred characters, in questions and answers, entitled *Shen mieh lun* [3] or "Discourse on the Annihilation of the Shen", a piece of Chinese philosophical tattle with the narrow orbit of the sayings of the ancients for starting-point, and idle metaphors, and banal comparisons or allegories for arguments. His thesis was, that the soul and the body are one and identic, so that when the one is dead, the other cannot exist. A contemporary of his, the statesman Shen Yoh [4], immortal as author of the Books of the Sung Dynasty and a great part of those of the House of Tsin, felt himself in duty bound to controvert his reasonings, which he did in three treatises, all surviving to this day as literary curiosities and monuments of style. But on reading those papers, we soon see that they contain nothing worth knowing, nor does it appear that they have exercised any influence on popular ideas or on practical religious life. Of other authors working on the same line we have not heard or read.

Little also have Chinese thinkers sharpened their wits on the question at which moment of his existence the souls are implanted

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[1] 人有賢愚皆知已身之有魂魄、魂魄分去則人病、盡去則人死。故分去則術家有拘錄之法、盡去則禮典有招呼之義. *Pao P'oh-tsz'*, ch. I, sect. 論僊.

[2] 范縝. [3] 神滅論. [4] 沈約.

in a man. We saw on page 10 that Tszĕ-ch'an, in the year 534 before our era, spoke of this mystery pedantically enough to make his hearers believe he sounded it thoroughly; and his position as a disciple of the infallible Confucius has always withheld China's intellectual world from demurring to the correctness of his statement. Chu Hi, as we saw (p. 58), re-echoed this briefly in these words: "Beings first possess a p'oh, and acquire their shen in a later period of their life". Some leeches and Taoists have dissented from that tenet, teaching that both souls enter man when he is still a foetus. "When his parents have sexual intercourse, man receives "the beginning of his life. In the first month it forms the tsing "of the placenta, which is a coagulation of blood. In the second "month it forms his first shape, that is to say, the complete foetus. "In the third, shen substance of the Yang forms his triple "hwun, which moves to make him live. In the fourth month "the spiritual manifestations (ling) of the Yin produce his septem- "partite p'oh, which, remaining motionless, dominates his body. "And in the fifth month the five Elements are distributed over his "viscera, to settle the shen that dwell therein" [1]. Often also we have found in medical works the tenet, stated to be of old date, that in the seventh month after conception the hwun begins to circulate through the foetus, enabling it to move the left hand,

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[1] 父母和合、人受其生始。一月爲胞精、血凝也。二月爲始形、成胚也。三月陽神爲三魂、動以生也。四月陰靈爲七魄、靜鎭形也。五月五行分藏以安神也. *Nei kwan king* 內觀經 or "Classic on the Contemplation of one's own Interior", a little work in one chapter of twenty-two paragraphs, in which Lao-tszĕ laid down his wisdom on the soul of the foetus and on the nomenclature of the several souls of man, with sage admonitions as to the care to be taken of one's body and heart, lest they become defiled and unable to maintain their existence. It existed in the 12th. century, being then mentioned by Ch'ao Kung-wu 晁公武, alias Tszĕ-chi 子止, a high official, in his renowned bibliography entitled *Kiün chai tuh shu chi* 郡齋讀書志 or "Record of the Books read by me in my Study in the Province", i. e. in Yung 榮, in Szĕ-ch'wen, where the library had in the main been collected. To this work, which contains four chapters and a supplement of two, Ma Twan-lin was indebted much for the bibliographical chapters (174—249) of his *Wen hien t'ung khao.*

Having no copy of the *Nei kwan king* on our shelves, we borrow the above extract from the TS, sect. 乾象, ch. 23. The theory of the viscera being inhabited by various shen, and of the two souls consisting of several parts, we review in Chapter III.

while in the eighth month the pʿoh does the same, rendering the right hand movable.

After all, the question arises whether this web of philosophism, rooted, as we saw it is, in the most ancient times into which China's literature introduces us, merely holds a place in the history of her mental culture as a curiosity, adhered to and admired by only a limited class of thinkers and bookmen; or whether it is, so to say, general national property, broadly influencing social life and habits. The answer can hardly be undecisive, since in every part of this world philosophical systems never command a very vast sphere of influence. Nevertheless it is a fact, that in searching China's animistic and religious usages, conceptions and lore, we fall in with the outlines of the system so often, that it becomes impossible to deny that those outlines are common property of the people, and woven firmly into their ideas and observances in regard to disembodied souls. Facts attesting the correctness of this statement will occur regularly in the following chapters of this Book; but it is worth while forthwith to make it true by a retrospection of some practices and observances, ancient and modern, regarding the dead, which are described in Volume I.

We have stated, for example, that the inhabitants of Amoy consider fainting fits, insensibility and atropy to be caused by the departure of the shen or tsing shen, which terms they have in the local forms of *sîn* and *tsing sîn*; and that they endeavour to cure sufferers of those complaints by bringing that soul back into them (see pp. 243 *seq.*). We further saw (pp. 245 *sqq.*) that death, too, they ascribe to a departure of the soul, and that, congruously to this idea, the relations, in imitation of the ancients, try to bring it back into the corpse by calling to it and by shouting and howling. That, while doing so, they consider the soul concerned to be the shen or hwun, is manifest from the term "to call to the hwun" (招魂 or 呼魂), by which such attempts to revive the dead have been denoted in the books ever since the Han dynasty.

So, also, it is because the departed spirit is the hwun, the soul produced by the Yang or *luminous* part of the Universe, that the relations endeavour to invigorate it and guide it back to the corpse by means of torches, lamps or candles, placed at the death-bed (pp. 21 *seq.*). For the use of that same disembodied *hún*, as they call it in their own tongue, the Amoy Chinese prepare a temporary body in the shape of a tablet, which they call *hún peh*,

"silk cloth for the hwun" (pp. 70 *seq.*); and afterwards they use this object as a means to convey that soul solemnly to the grave in the suite of the corpse (p. 172), under guidance of invigorating torches (p. 179), occasionally employing at the same time and to the same end an image of the deceased, which they call *hûn sin* or "body for the hwun", and also a banner (p. 173). And when the coffin is placed in the grave, together with that tablet and that banner (pp. 212 *seq.*), the hwun takes up its abode in a permanent tablet (pp. 211 *seq.*, 216 *seq.*), which is then carried home, likewise under guidance of invigorating lights (p. 228), to be lodged thenceforth in the family dwelling as a powerful shen (*sîn*), a faithful protector of the house, its inmates, and their descendants. We may see, in truth, from the text of the prayer addressed to the defunct on the brink of his grave (p. 226) that the soul which the relations summon twice to return with them to their home, is the hwun.

At the beginning of that same prayer, and also in that pronounced at the departure of the funeral procession from the mortuary house (p. 147), the soul is accosted as ling, as may be seen from the original texts of those documents. The fundamental meaning of that term being (see p. 12 of this volume) the power and influence manifested by souls, we have here two instances of its being used tropically for the words hwun and p'oh. The Buddhist priest, called in soon after the demise to effect the redemption of the soul from the pangs of hell and to enable it to resort to the place of sacrifice, where food and drink are set out for it, likewise calls it in his prayers the ling (pp. 72—74), evidently attaching to this word the sense of hwun, as in one of his invocations (p. 73) he asks explicitly "that the messengers of hell may guide the hwun to the place of sacrifice". So, also, it is the hwun that is piloted into the Paradise of the West by means of the solemn Amitâbha march described on pp. 124 *sqq.*, the soul being denoted by this term in the inscription displayed by the curious streamer which plays a prominent part in that ceremony.

All those peeps into actual life proving that it is the hwun which departs as a shen to the other world at death, or settles in a tablet on the house-altar, it seems to follow that it must be the other part of the dual soul, viz. the kwei or p'oh, that resides in the grave, the more so as this soul in particular is assimilated with the Yin or *terrestrial* part of the Universe. Sundry persuasive facts, however, to which we alluded on page 6 of this volume,

refute this conclusion altogether, showing that the shen or ming is just as well believed to dwell in the earthly resting-place of the corpse. The mandarin of whom we spoke on page 134 of Book I, certainly entertained no other opinion when he wrote in his edict against the bad custom of delaying burials, that "leaving a coffin unburied a day means the same as depriving a hwun a day of anything to take refuge in". The worship at the graves, which forms so important a factor in Chinese religious life, is in reality, as we shall afterwards have occasion to see, a worship of the hwun or shen, and the kwei or p'oh hardly ever comes to the foreground in it.

CHAPTER II.

COSMO-PSYCHOLOGICAL PHILOSOPHY, AND TAOISM.

It may have astonished our readers a little to see us spin out the preceding chapter to a greater length than was strictly required for a sketch of China's philosophy on man's spiritual nature. We had, however, our good reasons for doing so, and for dilating also on the human body, passions and character. Indeed, the ideas about man's material and immaterial being, as they are traceable in China's ancient books and consolidated by her philosophy, place us immediately before the foundation and the main pillars of a great system, known among Europeans as Taoism. It is now our duty to point this out.

Elsewhere, in describing the f u n g-s h u i system, we made cursory mention of the great principle on which that Taoism rests (B. I, pp. 935—936). It is now in place to state more explicitly, once for all, what we have to understand by the word, lest the reader should have difficulty in following us whenever — as will be henceforth the case very often — we shall have to refer to it conceptions and practices we have taken upon ourselves to describe as integrate parts of the Chinese Religious System.

Taoism, as the word indicates, is the Religion of the T a o (道), a term meaning Path or Way, but denoting in this peculiar case the way, course or movement of the Universe, her processes and methods. In other words, Taoism is the Religion of Heaven and Earth, of the Cosmos, of the World or Nature in the broadest sense of these words. Hence we may call it Naturism.

It can hardly be doubted that man's primitive feeling of complete dependence on the Universe and the powers that work therein, was the mother of it. From the budding of his reason, the East-Asiatic seems to have mused on Nature's overawing power, his meditations leading him gradually to the invention of measures to propitiate its beneficial operations and avert its detrimental influences. Those practices, making his Religion from his earliest childhood, we find the clearest traces of in his oldest books.

It testifies, indeed, of the high antiquity and early development of Taoism in China, that its fundamental doctrines are found in so old a work as the *Yih king* is. They are the theories on the constitution and operation of the Cosmos, which we reviewed in Book I (pp. 960 *sqq.*). We did not, however, give more there than their outlines. Volumes of philosophical speculation they gave birth to in all times and ages. But we can safely leave most of them unread, they being of no utility for a sketch of Taoism in its origin and development; and a sketch of that system is, of course, all we can give. Besides, time compels me to practise self-restraint, as the progress of this work hardly keeps pace with the advance of my years.

Taoism being fundamentally a religion of the Cosmos and its subdivisions, old Chinese Cosmogony is its Theogony. It conceives the Universe as one large organism of powers and influences, a living machine, the core of which is the Great Ultimate Principle or T'ai Kih, comprising the two cosmic Breaths or Souls, known as the Yang and the Yin, of which, respectively, Heaven and Earth are the chief depositories. These two souls produce the four seasons, and the phenomena of Nature represented by the lineal figures called kwa. It is they also that produce and animate the five Elements, which are the constituents of the material and immaterial world. Such are the outlines of that Cosmogony. They are the first main pillar of the Taoistic system. Now let us draw attention to the second, that is, the position of Man in Nature.

The chapter preceding the present one places before us the main doctrines on this head. It teaches us (pp. 12 *sqq.*) that Man, like all that has life, is in every respect a component of the Cosmos, both bodily and mentally. The consideration alone that he receives his souls from the Yang and the Yin or Heaven and Earth, and his body from the Elements, and that he may lose his body and souls at any moment for re-absorption into those cosmic powers, amply sufficed to keep him ever-conscious of his dependent connection with the World, or, as the Chinese put it, with its movements, its Tao or Course, its active power effecting such creation and destruction. We have seen how anxiously Chinese philosophers try to finish the picture of Man's intimate relations with the Universe (pp. 15 *sqq.*). They talk of an affinity of his five viscera, the apertures of his body, and the five constant qualities of his natural character, with the five Elements, the quadrants of the sphere, and the subdivisions of the Universe as denoted by the cardinal points. The

Taoist Liu Ngan found out the connection between the construction of man's material body and the constitution of Heaven and Earth, discovering also a relation of the parts of the body to the seasons and days of the year, clouds, winds, rain, thunder, and the atmosphere (pp. 15 *seq.*). In particular, as we saw, identification of man's character, passions and virtue with the Yang and the Yin, with the heavens and their phenomena and seasons, was a topic of philosophy. This topic we now point to with emphasis, as being the foundation of a third pillar in the Taoist religion, viz. of its Ethics, or principles on the cultivation of the character and the passions. Thus it taught that goodness, virtue, morality were all to be sought in Nature, that is, in the imitation of its Tao, or in the conformation with it. That foundation we now know. The pillar, raised on it, we shall have to describe in due time and place.

A perusal of the preceding chapter thus necessarily leads to the conclusion that Chinese Cosmogony and Psychology, inclusive of the expansions given them by the Sung school, are Taoistic to the very marrow. Nevertheless they pretend to be thoroughly Confucian. In truth, Confucian philosophy could have here no other base, since sacred antiquity, which to revive and to practice was always of Confucianism the sole and ultimate end, had given nothing else to build on. So, also, its system of Ethics is fundamentally Taoistic, as it made the Classics its sole standard bibles for morality and for individual and social perfection, and those Classics preach overtly (see p. 28) that cultivation of the natural character consists in following the Tao, nay, that the character is created by this supreme power. But still there is another principle, likewise unveiled by the preceding chapter, in point of which, for quite the same reasons, Confucianism must necessarily meet Taoism fraternally. It is this, that the Universe is filled up in all its parts with shen or yang spirits, which animate every thing that exists, and regulate the Tao of Nature and its phenomena or revolutions (comp. p. 13), thus ruling also man and his fate. In other words, its veneration of the Classics, its greatest principle, forbids the Confucian school to decry the Taoist Pantheon, which contains such shen innumerable as objects of worship; and in fact it has never done so. To that Pantheon we shall still have to devote many a chapter, it being a main pillar in the Religious System of China, as gods and saints are in every religion.

This exposition of the cosmological and psychological basis of Taoism shows us the *Yih king* as the oldest book in which that

basis is laid down. Thus, naturally, this work always held a place among Taoists as their Book *par excellence*, their very Bible containing the principles of their faith. We state this fact here with emphasis against the opinion, generally current, that the principal Taoist Bible is the *Tao teh king*.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE MULTIPLICITY OR DIVISIBILITY OF THE SOULS OF MAN.

The quotation we made on page 62 from a Taoist book, has acquainted us with a new psychological tenet: the two souls of man are multipartite. His h w u n consists of three parts, and his pʿo h of seven, or — which comes to the same thing — he has three h w u n and seven pʿo h. He possesses also five s h e n, each inhabiting one of his five viscera.

These two theories are not based on any teachings of the ancients. Nor has, in consequence, the authoritative orthodox school of philosophy made them a topic for speculation. Seldom do they come to the foreground in religious usages; and in the range of those we have thus far reviewed, the tripartite h w u n and the septempartite pʿo h play a part only once, viz. in the construction of the soul-banners used in obsequies (B. I, page 126). Koh Hung seems to be the first author who mentions them. Thus wrote this strange prophet of mystic art: — "if a man divides his body, he "himself may see the tripartite h w u n and the septempartite pʿo h "that dwell therein" [1]. No satisfactory explanation of the theorem have we been able to obtain from the native literature; and Chu Hi makes us not a smattering wiser when we hear him say: "The "h w u n belongs to the element Wood, and the pʿo h to Metal "(comp. p. 48), and the theory of a h w u n of three parts and "a pʿo h of seven is based on the circumstance, that these ciphers "are those of Wood and Metal" [2].

The theory that every viscus of a human being contains a s h e n, can be traced to much earlier times. We saw on page 46 that it was held by the philosopher Tszè-hwa; yet it occurs in an older

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[1] 形分則自見其身中三魂七魄. *Pao Pʿoh-tszĕ*, ch. IV, sect. 地眞.

[2] 魂屬木、魄屬金、所以說三魂七魄是金木之數也. *Sing-li ta tsüen shu*, ch. 28.

Pl. I.

The Souls of the Six Viscera.

writing, entitled *Nan king* [1] or "Canon of difficult Points", a work in two chapters treating of eighty-one obscure medical questions, ascribed to Pien-ts'ioh [2], a celebrated leech of the sixth century before our era, and now current with a running commentary by Hwah Sheu or Hwah Poh-jen [3], who lived in the fourteenth century. "The five viscera contain seven shen. Which of these does each of "them contain? Tsang (viscus, 臟, *i. e.* 月 flesh, and 藏 to hide) "means that which houses and hides the shen and the breath "of an individual. So the liver conceals the hwun, the lungs "hide the p'oh, the heart the shen, the spleen the will and "knowledge, and the kidneys the tsing and the aspirations" [4]. Thus, for the sake of this theory, its maker simply denies the fact that the shen and the hwun are identical things. Strange it is to see Chinese fancy depict the souls of the viscera as distinct individuals with animal forms. Their portraits, as we find them in the *San ts'ai t'u hwui* [5], the reader may see on a reduced scale on Plate I. "The shen of the lungs", thus we read over the original woodcuts, "bears the name of Hao-hwa or White "Flower, and the cognomen Hü-ch'ing or Totality of Emptiness; "the lungs have the shape of a Tiger, and they are the chief organ "that contains the p'oh. The shen of the spleen is called Shang- "tsai, the Always Present, and its cognomen is Hwun-t'ing or "Courtyard of the hwun; the spleen resembles in form a spiritual "phœnix, and its main function is to contain the hwun. The "shen of the heart goes by the name of Tan-yuen or Vermilion "Original, and his cognomen is Sheu-ling, Protector of the ling; "the heart has the form of a red bird, and it is the principal "store of the shen. The shen of the kidneys is known as Hüen- "ming or the Black Dark, and his cognomen is Yuh-ying, the Baby

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1 難經.

2 扁鵲, *infra*, p. 113.

3 滑壽 or 滑伯仁.

4 五臟有七神。各何所藏耶。然臟者人之神氣所舍藏也。故肝藏魂、肺藏魄、心藏神、脾藏意與智、腎藏精與志也. The 34th. "difficult point".

5 三才圖會, "Collection of Drawings concerning the Three Powers" (comp. p. 2), a large illustrated cyclopedia in fourteen sections, containing together 106 chapters. It was composed by Wang Khi 王圻, also named Yuen-han 元翰, a high officer of the second half of the sixteenth century, renowned especially as author of the *Suh wen hien t'ung khao*.

"Nurse; their shape is that of a double-headed, dark coloured "stag, and they are the chief depository of the will. The shen of "the gall-bladder is styled Lung-yao or the Dragon's Brightness, "and its other name is Wei-ming, Imposing Splendor; the gall "resembles in shape a tortoise and a snake that blend their forms "together. And the shen of the liver passes under the name of "Lung-yen or Dragon's Smoke, and its cognomen is Han-ming, Who "holds Light in his Jaws; the shape of the liver is that of a "dragon, and it is the chief store of the hwun" [1].

Of this piece of psycho-physiological wisdom a few points become intelligible by collation with the synoptical table we gave on page 26. We then understand that the shen of the lungs is named White Flower simply from the lungs corresponding with whiteness; and as this colour represents the celestial Tiger (see B. 1, p. 317), the lungs must have the shape of this monster. In the same way we discover that the heart must be shaped like the Red Bird; and Tszĕ-hwa, as we saw on page 47, really identified it with this celestial biped. The kidneys are named the Black Dark from their corresponding in the table with blackness. And finally, the shen of the liver rejoices in the name of Dragon's Smoke and Light-swallower, and this viscus has dragon forms, all because, as the table shows, the constellation with which it corresponds is the Dragon, a monster supposed to bear a pearl between its jaws, which represents probably the solar disk. Of the rest of the gibberish, the leading ideas we fail to understand.

Though fancy or learnedness thus ascribes to the souls of the viscera shapes of animals, real or imaginary, those souls are positively stated to have appeared at times in visible human shapes outside the body to which they belonged. "When Ching Ts'i-ying was "Vice-President of the Board of Civil Office in the Khai yuen "period (A.D. 713—741), and deputy to Honan for degradation "and promotion of officers, he, while travelling back from that

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[1] 肺神名皓華、字虛成、肺之狀爲虎、主藏魄。脾神名常在、字魂庭、脾之狀如神鳳、主藏魂。心神名丹元、字守靈、心之狀如朱雀、主藏神。腎神名玄冥、字育嬰、腎之狀玄鹿兩頭、主藏志。膽神名龍耀、字威明、膽之狀如龜蛇混形。肝神名龍煙、字含明、肝之狀爲龍、主藏魂. Sect. 身體, ch. 1 and 2.

"province, lodged in Hwa-cheu. Here he saw five men, dressed in "the colours of the five cardinal points (with which the viscera "are identified, see the table on page 26). They came up the steps "into the hall, with a series of bows. On his asking them whence "they came, they replied: 'We are the shen of your five viscera, "high Deputy'. 'If so, you ought to be within me', said Ts'i-"ying; 'what do you visit me for?' On which they replied: 'We, "shen, serve to guard your vital breath (khi), and this breath "being exhausted, we must disperse'. 'Then I am to die, am I not?' "Ts'i-ying re-asked. 'Yes, you are', was the answer. The alarmed "state-servant asked for a delay of one day to write his official "report and testamentary dispositions; on which the spirits spoke: "'We grant it, provided you then come here in the back part "of the Yamen'. Ts'i-ying there set out liquor and dainties for the "spirits, who accepted them with courteous bows; then he wrote "his reports, washed his hair and his body, put on a new suit, "and laid himself down at the western wall, where he expired at "the appointed hour" [1].

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[1] 鄭齊嬰開元中爲吏部侍郎河南黜陟使、將歸途次華州。忽見五人、衣五方色衣。詣廳再拜。齊嬰問其由、答曰、是大使五臟神。齊嬰問曰、神當居身中、何故相見。答曰、神以守氣、氣竭當散。嬰曰、審如是吾其死乎。曰、然。嬰倉卒求延晷刻、欲爲表章及身後事、神言、還至後衙則可。嬰爲設酒饌、皆拜而受、既修表沐浴、服新衣、臥西壁下、至時而卒. *Kwang i ki* 廣異記, "Enlargement of the Writings on extraordinary Matters". This is a collection of tales, from which we quoted one on p. 810 of B. I. It forms one of the most valuable sources for the study of Chinese folklore, and we shall afterwards borrow from it very often. It is ascribed to one Yoh Shi 樂史, a statesman and prolific author, also known by his other name Tszé-ching 子正, who presented the manuscript to the Emperor in A. D. 986, together with sundry other works of his hand. It then was entitled *Suh choh i ki* 續卓異記, or *Suh kwang choh i ki* 續廣卓異記, "The Writings on extraordinary Things of far and wide, continued and enlarged", being an enlargement of a work then extant in one chapter, entitled *Choh i ki*, professedly written by one Ch'en Han 陳翰, Ch'en Ngao 陳翺, or Ch'en Siang 陳翔 in the first half of the ninth century. Yoh Shi seems to have brought out his work in three chapters, which he increased afterwards to twenty. See the History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 306, l. 19, and ch. 206, ll. 4 and 7: and

On the whole, it would be inaccurate to say that the plurality or divisibility of the human souls has in China set many pens in motion. When we see that at the present day it is very usual to make more than one soul-tablet for one dead man or woman, all of which are believed to be occupied by the soul, and that there are no reasons to admit that this custom did not prevail in the past also; — when, moreover, we remember that, apart from all those tablets, the grave too is deemed to be inhabited by the soul, — then, certainly, the conclusion seems justifiable that practical religious life has never had any doubt about the matter, and that general opinion has always subscribed to it. Afterwards we shall see this confirmed on many a page, from various usages and ideas.

Among the futilities of Chinese philosophy we may rank the ascription of a special shen to every organ of the senses and to other significant parts of the body. Twan Ch'ing-shih was even so learned as to publish the proper names of some of those shen, translations of which we dare not give but with the greatest reservation. "The names of the shen of the body are different "from those of shen in general. That of the brains is named "Kioh-yuen or Origin of Perception, and that of the hair is Hüen-"hwa or Black Bloom. The shen of the eyes, the nose and the "tongue are called respectively Hü-kien or Seer of the Void, "Ch'ung-lung-wang or Flying Dragon King, and Shi-liang" [1]. The *Yun kih ts'ih ts'ien* [2], a digest of Taoism, philosophy, alchemy etc.

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the *Sze khu ts'üen shu tsung muh*, ch. 57, l. 25. We have never been able to procure a complete copy of the work. Hence many of our quotations from it are second-hand, and gleaned from sundry sections of the TS and the KK. The above tale is from the first-named work, section 人事, ch. 23.

[1] 身神及諸神名異者。腦神曰覺元、髮神曰玄華、目神曰虛監、鼻神曰冲龍王、舌神曰始梁.

Chapter 11 of the *Yiu-yang tsah tsu* 酉陽雜俎, "Variety of Dishes from the Southside of the Yiu hills", thus called from the place where its author Twan Ch'ing-shih 段成式, named also Ko-ku 柯古, a high officer flourishing in the middlemost part of the ninth century, had his library of rare and curious books. The work contains twenty chapters of tales and notices on sundry subjects, tinged deeply with Buddhism, for the most part highly useful for our knowledge of Chinese customs, ideas, and folklore. The author added a supplement, in ten chapter of a similar character, which may be considered to form six different works.

[2] 雲笈七籤, in 122 chapters, by the high officer Chang Kiün-fang 張君房.

compiled in the last years of the tenth century or in the first of the eleventh, goes much further, giving us the surnames, names and cognomen of some three dozen shen of sundry parts of the body, enriching our knowledge also with short particulars about their size, stature, dress, and hats [1].

There are medical authors who ascribe to man an indefinite number of souls or soul-parts, or, as they express it, a hundred shen. Those souls, they say, shift in the body according to the age of the owner; so, *e. g.*, when he is 25, 31, 68, or 74 and older, they house in his forehead, so that it is then very dangerous to have boils or ulcers there, because effusion of blood would entail death. At other times of life they nestle under the feet or in other parts and limbs, and only in the 21rst., 38th., 41rst. and 50th. year of life they are distributed equally through the body, so that open abscesses, wherever they appear, do not heal then at all [2]. Such pathologic nonsense regulates, of course, medical practice to a high degree; but even this is no reason for us to occupy ourselves here with it any longer.

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1 See the TS, sect. 神異, ch. 46.

2 See on this subject *e. g.* the *I hioh kang muh* 醫學綱目, "Synopsis of Medical Study", a work in forty chapters by Leu Ying 樓英 of the Ming dynasty, also named Ts'üen-sien 全善. He was a native of Siao-shan 蕭山 in Chehkiang province. TS, sect. 藝術, ch. 382.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE PARTS OF THE BODY IN WHICH THE SOUL SPECIALLY DWELLS.

The speculations, sold for wisdom, with which the preceding chapter has acquainted us, though rather fit to move us to laughter than to awake our interest, occupy a place of more significance in the field of Chinese thought than appears at first sight. Teaching us, as they do, that every viscus, as also the hair, the brains, the eyes, the nose, the tongue etc. have each a separate shen, or are animated by a special part of the one shen the individual possesses, they give us to understand that the soul or its substance is not conceived by the Chinese as something pervading all parts of the body in equal proportions; and this theorem is of no inferior interest in the Chinese compound of psychological notions.

No doubt it is a theorem of old standing. We see it appear already in works of early date, as the *Hwang-ti su wen* [1], "Questions usually put by the Emperor Hwang", a series of discourses on therapeutics and physiology, held between this mythic monarch of the 27th. century before Christ, and some six of his chief courtiers. It is a celebrated production, certainly not so old as the title indicates, but mentioned in writings of the third century, so that we may admit that it contains much of the knowledge of physiology and medicine handed down from the most remote times. Its eighty chapters with an appendix form a voluminous work, considerably enlarged by the elaborate commentaries of one Wang Ping [2], a renowned physician of the eighth century, and of Ma Shi [3] of the Ming dynasty, and Chang Chi-ts'ung [4]. "The head is the mansion "of the tsing ming", thus it speaks, that is to say, of the yang soul possessed of operative energy. "When the head droops and the "eye-sight fails, the shen with its energy (tsing shen) will be "snatched away ... In the first two months of the year the breath

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1 黃帝素問. 2 王冰.

3 馬蒔, also named Chung-hwa 仲化 and Yuen-t'ai 元臺.

4 張志聰.

"(khi) of a man abides in his liver. In the two next months it resides "in his spleen. In the fifth and in the sixth, when the breath of "heaven is full and that of the earth is at its highest elevation, it "dwells in his head. In the seventh month and the eighth it stays "in his lungs; in the next two months it is settled in his heart, "and in the two last months of the year it is in his kidneys" [1].

The key to the understanding of these reasonings we find in the simple circumstance that the liver, the lungs and the kidneys are identified respectively with spring, autumn and winter, because (see the table on page 26) they correspond with the East, the West and the North, which points of the compass appertain in the same order to those three seasons. And of the idea that in the height of the summer season, when the breath or soul of heaven is full and that of the earth ascends, the soul or breath of a man resides in his head, we have the explanation in the *Ch'un-ts'iu yuen ming pao*, when it asserts that "the head is the "place wherein the shen dwells, as by the roundness of its top it "represents heaven, which is the abode of the breath of Nature [2]. "A man's tsing", it says in addition, "dwells in his brains" [3]. It is easy to see that all this sophistry bears a strong tinge of Taoism. Since, as this system teaches, man is a miniature copy of the Universe, a part of whose material and immaterial substance forms his body and his soul, his yang soul necessarily has to follow the Tao or Course of that Universe, and thus to dwell in the heaven of his body, especially in the time of the year when the male soul itself of the Universe concentrates in the celestial sphere.

It is probably from the strong belief in a special animation of the head, in conjunction with the conceptions about divisibility of the soul, that ideas came forth about heads able to detach themselves for a time from the body, without any of them ceasing

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[1] 頭者精明之府。頭傾視深精神將奪矣。。。正月二月人氣在肝。三月四月人氣在脾。五月六月天氣盛、地氣高、人氣在頭。七月八月人氣在肺、九月十月人氣在心、十一月十二月人氣在腎. Chapt. 17 and chapt. 16.

[2] 頭者神所居、上圓象天、氣之府也. TS., sect. 人事, ch. 9.

[3] 人精在腦. *Ibid.*

to live. "Under the reign of the Ts'in dynasty", thus we read in Yü Pao's *Sheu shen ki*[1], "there lived somewhere in the South a "people that could let their heads fall off. And these could then fly. "In the time of the Wu dynasty, the general Chu Hwan (A.D. "177—238) obtained from there a female slave, whose head flew "away regularly every night when she was asleep. It then found "egress and ingress either through a hole for the dogs, or through "a sky-light, using its ears for wings. At early dawn it returned. "When it had done so several times, some one resting near her felt "a little inquisitive and looked at her in the night by a light, "and he discovered the headless trunk. This had become rather "cold, and the respiration was slow and weak. So he covered it "with a blanket; but the head, on coming back against daybreak, "was thus prevented by the blanket from finding rest. Two or "three times it tumbled to the ground, whining and grumbling

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1 搜神記. This work we quoted already in Book I (p. 470). It was written in the first tens of the fourth century. The title means as much as "Record of Researches after the Spirits". It is a curious collection of marvels and legends, relating mostly to souls or ghosts — a precious source for the knowledge of early Chinese animism and spirit-lore. Its value as such is unsurpassed. We shall have to draw from it very often. Its author is said to be one Yü Pao 于寶, or, according to others, Kan Pao 干寶, who rose to the dignity of 國史 or dynastic historiographer, and composed a great part of the Books of the Tsin Dynasty, giving also commentaries upon the *Tso ch'wen*, the *Yih king* and the *Cheu li*. He is known also by his other name Ling-shing 令升. Compare page 126.

There are now current two different editions of the *Sheu shen ki*, both bearing the name of Yü Pao as the author. Both are monuments of style, which probably accounts still more than the contents do for the popularity the work enjoyed before and under the T'ang dynasty, a popularity manifest from the frequency with which it is quoted even in high class works. At present the two editions are highly esteemed, and have a wide circulation. One is in twenty chapters; the other contains no more than eight. In the catalogues of books, contained in the Books of the Sui dynasty (ch. 33, l. 20) and in those of the House of T'ang (Old Books, ch. 46, l. 38, and New Books, ch. 59, l. 19) the work is stated to contain thirty chapters; but according to the catalogue in the History of the Sung Dynasty (ch. 206, l. 1) it contained only ten. All this renders it doubtful whether the two present editions are entirely authentic and free from spurious interpolations. Unless we expressly state the contrary, the edition we quote from is that in twenty chapters.

A third work bearing the name of *Sheu shen ki*, likewise ascribed to Yü Pao, was quoted by us on p. 161 of B. I. It is entirely different in character from the two other, being a collection of monographies of gods and goddesses, contributing much to our knowledge of religious mythology. This production too we shall have to quote from often in a later part of this work.

"most dolefully, while the trunk panted as if it were going to die. "The man now drawing the blanket off, the head rose up and "fixed itself on to the neck, so that in the next moment the slave "was quite well. Great were Hwan's amazement and fright. He "lacked the courage to keep the slave any longer, and sent her "away. But on making further inquiry, he no longer ignored that "he had to do with a natural idiosyncrasy of that woman. Every "now and then, military commanders, when on expeditions against "the South, had obtained such beings; and cases had also occurred "of their having placed a copper vessel over the trunk, so that "the head could not get to it, and death was the end" [1].

Still in the twelfth century this tradition was re-echoed by Li Shih [2], in a collection of notes published unter the title of *Suh poh wuh chi* [3] or "Supplementary *Poh wuh chi*", of which work of marvel, written in the third century (see B. I, p. 422), it professed to be an extension. "Southward from the Sierra (which extends "along the north of Kwangtung and Kwangsi), and in Khi-tung (in "Kweicheu prov.) there are now and then persons with heads that "fly. Hence the nick-name: a Lao-tszĕ with a flying head. When a head "is going to soar, there appears the day before a mark round its neck "like a red cord; and, in spite of the vigilance of wife and children, "it gets wings in the night, and away it flies, to return at daybreak" [4].

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[1] 秦時南方有落頭民。其頭能飛。吳時將軍朱桓得一婢、每夜臥後頭輒飛去。或從狗竇、或從天窻中出入、以耳爲翼。將曉復還。數數如此、傍人怪之、夜中照視、惟有身無頭。其體微冷、氣息裁屬。乃蒙之以被、至曉頭還、礙被不得安。兩三度墮地、噫咤甚愁、體氣甚急、狀若將死。乃去被、頭復起、傅頸、有頃和平。桓以爲大怪畏。不敢畜、乃放遣之。既而詳之、乃知天性也。時南征大將亦往往得之、又嘗有覆以銅盤者、頭不得進、遂死. Ch. 12.

[2] 李石. [3] 續博物志.

[4] 嶺南溪洞中往往有飛頭者。故有飛頭老子之號。頭將飛一日前頸有痕匝項如紅縷、妻子共守之、及夜生翼飛去、曉却還. Ch. 10.

Another part of the body, in which the soul substance is deemed to be concentrated in particular, is the heart. This organ is, indeed, the very core of the body, always bearing, by its throbbing, witness to the body's vitality, until the moment of death, that is, when the soul departs. Already long before the commencement of our era, as we saw on page 10, the heart was declared by wise men to be an actual seat of the vital spirits. The *Su wen* states explicitly that "it is the heart which contains the shen" [1], and this tenet we find repeated afterwards in all medical works we know. In later times, Philosophy gave the heart the central place among the five viscera, a place corresponding with the South or the region of warmth and life (see the table on p. 26), degrading it, however, from its special position as abode of the soul by allotting a shen also to each of the other viscera (pp. 70 *sqq.*).

In the early years of our era, Wang Ch'ung declared in his *Lun heng* that the tsing khi of a man, that is to say, his breath or yang soul possessed of vital energy, is formed by his "blood pulses", and that these pulses ceasing to throb at his death, prove that his tsing khi is then extinguished (see p. 11). This identification of the soul with the blood we can hardly believe to be a special creation of Wang Ch'ung's mind, for it must occur naturally and generally with all peoples who, ascribing death to a departure of the soul, see man die when blood gushes out of him. It is, moreover, evidently older than Wang Ch'ung, being traceable in books of the second century before Christ. Liu Ngan then wrote: "Old hwui trees produce light or fire, and old blood forms ignes fatui, which fact does not amaze man" [2]. That this author understood these two sorts of mysterious lights equally to be souls, is manifest enough from these hwui trees being written 槐, that is to say, "kwei trees" 鬼木; while hardly two centuries later another scholar wrote: "The blood of those slain by steel is said "by the people to be converted into will-o'-the-wisps, that blood "having constituted their tsing khi while they lived" [3]. And about the same time, the composer of the *Shwoh wen* taught: "Ignes fatui are the blood of men killed by weapons, and of horses

1 心藏神. Chapter 62.

2 老槐生火、久血爲燐、人弗怪也. *Hung lieh kiai*, ch. 13.

3 人之兵死也世言其血爲燐、血者生時之精氣也. *Lun heng*, ch. 20.

"and cows. They are soul-flames, and the character denoting "them (燄) is composed of 炎 flames, and 舛 untoward" [1] — thus intimating that Jack-o'-lanterns were considered of old to be evil sprites.

The above statements appear and re-appear in books of later times. The *Poh wuh chi* says: "In places where fights are fought "and people are slain, the blood of men and horses changes after "a series of years into will-o'-the wisps. These lights stick to the "ground and to shrubs and trees like dew. As a rule they are "invisible, but wayfarers come in contact with them sometimes; "they then cling to their bodies and become luminous, and, when "wiped away with the hand, divide into innumerable other lights "which cause a soft crackling noise as of peas being roasted. "If the man stands still a good while, they disappear, but he "will then suddenly lose his reason (*lit.* his hwun), and not "recover before the next day. At present it occurs that, while "combing the head, or while dressing or undressing, such a light "follows the comb, or appears at the buttons on untying them, "likewise with a crackling sound" [2].

The philosophers of the Sung dynasty had no other opinions. Hwang Kan roundly declared "the blood to be the tsing" [3], and Chen Teh-siu wrote: "The tsing is the bloody substances; "they belong to the Yin, because they moisten and feed the whole "body" [4] — like water, which is yin, does the earth. "Some time "ago", thus Chang Ch'ih relates, "I was in the country up the Hwai "river, and passed the night in a little Buddhist convent. I then "heard in the dead of night a peeping noise, as of several times ten "thousand chickens. I rose to see what it was, and looking round,

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1 兵死及牛馬之血爲燄。燄鬼火也、从炎舛. Sect. 10, I.

2 鬪戰死亡之處其人馬血積年化爲燐。燐著地及草木如露。略不可見、行人或有觸者、著人體便有光、拂拭便分散無數愈甚、有細咤聲如炒豆。唯靜處良久乃滅、後其人忽忽如失魂、經日乃差。今人梳頭脫著衣時有隨梳解結有光者、亦有咤聲. Ch. 9.

3 血者精也. *Sing-li ta ts'üen shu*, ch. 28.

4 精者血之類、是滋養一身者、故屬陰 *Ibid.*

"I saw the ground studded with lights. The monks whom I inter-"rogated, answered that this was an old battle-field, and that this "phenomenon recurred whenever it was dark weather" [1]. Finally we may note that medical authors in general are wont to declare in their writings that the blood is "the mansion of the shen" [2], or even the shen itself.

Thus, gradually, our topic has carried us away from philosophy into the field of popular conceptions and lore. We have now seen that folk-lore, too, may instruct us on Chinese psychological belief. Its vast field the thinkers of the nation never explored; at best they strewed in it some grains of their intellect. In many respects it is a better mirror of China's mind and thought than her philosophy is. Both agree on several points. Their main features show no great discrepancy, nor did philosophers refuse a broad place in their system to much they found in popular lore. Indeed, the simple fact that philosophy and folk-conceptions have grown up equally out of the same Chinese mind, ensures that they will complete each other rather than confute. Philosophy is very far from giving us a finished picture of China's psychology and animism. So folklore becomes the source we have to turn to for a fuller satiation of our thirst for knowledge on the subject. From it alone we can learn fully what the Soul — taking this word in the broadest sense — is able to do and to become, and only for such questions as what sort of thing a soul is, or what its relations with the Universe are, we have, as we saw, to seek the answers in philosophy. Folk-lore also acquaints us much better with the hosts of demons and popular gods: — altogether kwei and shen around whom most of religious ideas and practices converge, and who thus constitute the core and nerval system of China's Religion. Folklore, myth and legend will therefore be the warp and woof of many chapters of this Volume and the next.

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[1] 向在淮上宿一小寺。中夜聞小雞聲以數萬計。起視之、見彌望燈明滿地。問之寺僧云、此舊戰塲也、遇天氣陰晦則有此. *Ibid.*

[2] 神之舍.

CHAPTER V.

ANIMISTIC IDEAS AS SUGGESTED BY SHADOWS.

On entering the vast field of animistic notions, which Chinese popular lore unrolls, we cannot expect to find therein the most primitive ideas respecting the Soul. China's primeval culture lies, in fact, so far behind us, and is superseded by so many ages of progress of mind and thought, that attempts to discover such ideas in her present psychology must a priori seem to promise no success. China's sons have totally outgrown their primitive state of mind. All we can do is to give things as they are depicted by the existing literature, leaving it to the reader himself to make out what we may take for vestiges or survivals of primeval ages.

Often enough ethnologists have directed attention to the fact that peoples in a low state of culture generally consider the shadow of a being as his soul. Spencer has even made this phenomenon one of the foundations of his theory on the origin of the belief in souls [1]. The question thus suggests itself whether such identification will appear also in the animistic lore of China.

It does not even seem venturesome to take this for certain. In fact, as the Chinese are even to this day without ideas of the physical causation of shadows, and unable to formulate that light only proceeds in straight lines, they must needs see in a shadow something more than a negation of light. It must be to them a duplicate belonging to the person casting it, intangible, and yet a reality, nothing else, accordingly, than a part of his immaterial substance, or that substance itself.

However rational such reasoning may appear, the facts do not quite seem to confirm it. We find nothing in the books of China which points positively to an identification of shadows and souls. Philosophical theories on the subject, based on ideas of the popular brain, we have looked round for in vain; nor have we found in those parts of China where we studied actual life, particular

1 The Principles of Sociology, ch. 8, § 56.

attention paid to shadows. All we could discover is some faint hints in the books, indicating that a shadow was often considered to have a separate existence, though not independent from the being that casts it, and that it is positively a part of that being, exercising great influence upon his fate.

In the writings of Chwang-tszé a human shadow is represented as a living entity. This Taoist, in fact, lets it discourse freely with wang-liang spectres on a subject indifferent to us; but nothing forbids us to believe he expressly personified here a shadow to have a proper subject for an allegory [1]. Of greater significance it is to hear that sage relate how one Shi Ch'ing-khi, on seeing Lao-tszĕ, "walked on behind him, to avoid his shadow" [2]. Such an act of deference could have no sense, unless we admit that the shadow was considered to be an integral part of the owner's immaterial part, a duplicate of him, which to harm was much the same as to harm his person. We also read that "Kao Ch'ai, since "he had seen Confucius, whenever he passed by him in going or "coming, did not place his foot on his shadow" [3].

The identity of a shadow with the spirit of its owner appears more clearly in the following lines, which we find in the *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*: — "In the Pao lih period (A. D. 825—826) there "was a Wang-shan man, who could take hold of the original "fate of others. In the fifth watch (3—5 A. M.) he set out some "lamps and examined human shadows by their light, in order to "ascertain whether the fate of the owners was good or bad. A "man's shadow, he said, ought to be deep, for, if so, he will "attain honourable positions, and a great age. Shadows are averse "to being reflected in water, or in wells, or in washing-basins. "It was on such grounds that the ancients avoided shadows, and "that in old days khü-seu, twan-hu [4], and other shadow-treading

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1 *Nan hwa chen king*, ch. I, § 齊物; and ch. IX, § 寓言.

2 士成綺厲行避影. Ch. V, § 天道.

3 高柴自見孔子、往來過之、足不履影. *Khung-tszĕ kia yü*, ch. III, § 弟子行.

4 See *infra*, in Part II, our chapter on Demons of Disease. The two names denote mysterious animals deemed to harm men by attacking their shadows. In an edition of the *Poh wuh chi*, which makes mention of those beasts (ch. III), we find the following interpolation, the date of which we cannot fix: "The Book to "use the whole Day says: All beings exercise influence upon each other. I have "heard that, if the shadow of a bird is hit with a piece of wood that was

"vermin caused injury by hitting the shadows of men. In recent "times there have been men versed in the art of curing disease "by cauterizing the shadows of their patients" [1]. Indeed, if a man's soul, represented by his shadow, is strong and vigorous, it will naturally enable him to work himself up to a glorious position, and to live long. And if it is harmed by beasts or by men, the effect will fall back on his body, while, similarly, if his soul is cured by medical means, his body will be healed also.

Like his souls, a man's shadows are multifold. In the same *Yiu-yang tsah tsu* we read: "According to a statement given by "Kwoh Ts'ai-chen, a Taoist doctor, the number of human shadows "can amount to nine. Twan Ch'ing-shih (the author of the "*Yiu-yang tsah tsu*) often experimented in this direction, but "could not discover more than six or seven shadows, those above "this number being too vague and confused to be discerned. "Kwoh Ts'ai-chen asserted they might be discerned by gradually "increasing the torches in number. He also stated that the nine "shadows have each a special name. One of the shadow-shen is "called the Emperor of the Left; the second is the wang-liang "spectre; the third is Sieh-tsieh-ch'ü; the fourth is Ch'ih-fu; the "fifth bears the name of Soh-kwan, the sixth that of slave of the "p'oh; the seventh is the Tsao-yao. Long ago I transcribed the "nine names, but two characters below on the hemp-paper were "devoured by silver-moths, so that I could not copy them. The "eighth shadow is named Hai-ling-t'ai, and the ninth name was "eaten away entirely by the moths, and indiscernible" [2].

"struck by thunder, the bird falls to the ground immediately. I never tried it, but "on account of the matter stated above I consider the thing certain" 周日用曰、萬物皆有所相感。愚聞以霹靂木擊鳥影、其鳥應時落地。雖未嘗試、以是類知必有之.

[1] 寶歷中有王山人取人本命。日五更張燈相人影、知休咎。言人影欲深、深則貴而壽。影不欲照水照井及浴盆中。古人避影亦爲此、古蠟蜼短狐踏影盡皆中人影爲害。近有人善炙人影治病者. Ch. XI.

[2] 道士郭采眞言、人影數至九。成式常試之、至六七而已、外亂莫能辨。郭言漸益炬則可別。又

The larger number of these names are perfectly unintelligible to us; but there are two amongst them which point manifestly to an affiliation of shadows and souls, viz. wang-liang spectre, and slave of the pʿoh. Significant also is the term shadow-shen, used by our Taoist.

Probably, identification of shadows and souls has also to do with a reference, found in the writings of Siün Khing, to a man who was afraid of his own shadow. "South of the spot where the Hia "discharges its waters (into the Hwangho, that is, somewhere in "south-west Shansi, or in the adjacent parts of Shensi or Honan) "there lived a man, named Küen Shuh-liang. Stupid he was, and "timorous besides. When walking at night in the bright moonshine, "he looked down and saw his shadow, and he thought it was a "crawling kwei; then he lifted up his eyes, and beholding his own "hair (as a shadow cast on some standing object?), imagined that "it was an erect mi-spectre. He then ran back home, and when "about to reach his house, he expired from loss of breath. Who "would not pity him! It is a general thing for men, whenever there "appears a spectre in their midst, to think in their emotion that "they will correct the effects of its visit by hiding themselves. But "here we have to do with one who thought a reality (viz. the "shadow) not to exist, and a non-reality (the spectre) to exist, and "who had nothing else but these errors to correct the matter"[1]. Are we to take this stupid faint-heart for a sporadic phenomenon? Or was he a type, not so very rare? The Benin negroes are stated to regard men's shadows as their souls, and the Wanika are afraid of their own shadows, possibly thinking, as some other

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說九影各有名。影神一名右皇、二名魍魎、三名洩節樞、四名尺鳧、五名索關、六名魄奴、七名竈[幺]。舊抄九影名、在麻面紙中向下兩字魚食、不記。八名亥靈胎、九魚全食不辨. Ch. XI.

[1] 夏首之南有人焉、曰涓蜀梁。其爲人也愚而善畏。明月而宵行、俯見其影以爲伏鬼也、卬視其髮以爲立魅也。背而走、比至其家失氣而死。豈不哀哉。凡人之有鬼也必以其感忽之閒疑玄之時正之。此人之所以無有而有無之時也而已以正事. *Siün-tszĕ*, ch. 15, sect. 21, 解蔽.

negroes do, that their shadows watch all their actions and bear witness against them [1].

An early instance of identification of shadows with the souls of the dead we have in the following interesting lines of Szĕ-ma Ts'ien's Historical Records: "Next year (121 B.C.), a man of the Ts'i region "(in the present Shantung), named Shao-weng, visited the emperor, "to show him his attainments with regard to k w e i and s h e n. "The emperor had a favourite consort, born of the Wang tribe; "this woman had died, and Shao-weng setting his arts at work, made "the countenance of the lady Wang appear, together with that of "the spirit of the furnace; and the Son of Heaven saw them within "a curtain. He honoured Shao-weng with the title of General of "Perfection of Learnedness, and bestowed on him a great many "presents, treating him with the ceremonial instituted for official "guests" [2]. Of this tale Yü Pao gives us a version which shows still more explicitly, that the soul the wizard evoked, was the shadow of the empress: — "The emperor Wu of the Han dynasty once "placed his affections on the lady Li; she departed this life, and "his thoughts were with her incessantly. Then a native of Ts'i, "versed in occult arts, named Li Shao-weng, told him he could make "her s h e n appear. That night he stretched a curtain across the "room, lighted lamps and torches, and told the emperor to sit down "by another curtain, and look from some distance. And within the "curtain a beauty appeared, whose form was that of the lady Li. "The emperor neared the curtain, sat down, and walked to and fro, "but without succeeding in getting near enough to see her. This event "increased his sorrow and emotions, and he gave vent to his sentiments "in the following verse:

"Was it she, or not?
"Standing up, I saw her in the distance;
"Was not she all elegance and grace?
"How imperceptibly she came near!

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1 Spencer, The Principles of Sociology, ch. VIII, § 56.

2 其明年齊人少翁以鬼神方見上。上有所幸王夫人、夫人卒、少翁以方蓋夜致王夫人及竈鬼之貌云、天子自帷中望見焉。於是乃拜少翁爲文成將軍、賞賜甚多、以客禮禮之. Ch. 28, l. 23. See also the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, ch. 25, I, l. 21.

"And he ordered the musicians of his department of music to sing "it with accompaniment of strings" [1].

Chinese authors assert that we have here the oldest reference known to the shows of transparencies performed with puppets casting shadows on a screen, which, though still an occasional enjoyment in some parts of the Empire, does not seem to have ever been very popular. It exists, we believe, with no other peoples but that of Java and of a few other islands and countries of south-east Asia, where the Javanese imported it in mediaeval times. It is remarkable that in Java, where this so-called *wayang* is purely indigenous, it bears a character strongly religious, portending, just as Li Shao-weng's performance before his Imperial lord did, that the souls of deceased personages would be brought down in the shape of shadows.

That the Chinese of this day are still fully alive to the identity of a man's shadow and his soul, we may infer from their aversion, referred to by us on pp. 94 and 210 of Book I, to having their shadows enclosed in a coffin or grave. The belief that such a thing might injure their health, or would even entail their death, agrees perfectly with the theory that disease and death may result from separation of the soul from the body. In conclusion we may state it is a matter of public opinion in China that ghosts, when showing themselves in a human shape, have no shadows. In truth, they are bodiless and mere shadows or souls themselves, and a shadow of a shadow is something hardly imaginable.

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[1] 漢武帝時幸李夫人、夫人卒後帝思念不已。方士齊人李少翁言能致其神。乃夜施帷帳、明燈燭而令帝居他帳遙望之。見美女居帳中、如李夫人之狀。還幄坐而步、又不得就視。帝愈益悲感、爲作詩曰、是耶非耶、立而望之、偏娜娜何、冉冉其來。遲令樂府諸音家絃歌之. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. II.

CHAPTER VI.

ON DISEASE OF THE SOUL, ITS DEBILITY AND DERANGEMENTS.

Lacking, as she does, correct pathological science, we cannot but expect to be sumptuously regaled by China's medical authors with the grossest nonsense when we search their writings for explanations of mental diseases.

Intelligence and wit, vivacity and brightness being, as we have seen in Chapter I, connected by them with certain conditions of the s h e n, they do not stray from their line of logic when they reason that insanity must be caused by special affections of the soul. But they fall short most lamentably in defining those affections.

When we peruse the lengthy chapters on insanity, which are not absent in leading medical works of which China's literature contains a considerable number, we find that, in imitation of the ancient *Nan king* [1], they all divide that disease into two kinds. The one, styled k h w a n g [2], manifests itself by sleeplessness, lack of appetite, megalomania, idiotic laughing and singing, running about restlessly, etc. The symptoms of the other kind, called t i e n [3], are depression of the mind, stupor, and epileptic fits or falling-sickness. It need not be said that both kinds, as well as their names, are often confounded. Practically, k h w a n g comprises constant and raging madness, and t i e n insanity by fits, quiet lunacy, and idiocy.

The *Hwang-ti su wen*, the renowned bible of pathology and medecine from which professors of leechcraft have in all ages derived their wisdom in very first instance, asserts that the Minister Khi-poh [4] told his Imperial Lord, that "when an individual neglects "binding up his clothes and coverings decently, and utters a mixture "of proper and improper talk, heeding his nearest relations as "little as those more remote, that then we have to do with a

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1 The fifty-ninth difficult point.

2 狂. 3 癲. 4 岐伯.

"troubled state of his shen ming" [1]. On another occasion the same grandee was asked by his sovereign for some information regarding insanity manifesting itself from birth. "In this case", thus the answer was, "the disease is stated to exist already in the womb. It is "incurred by the unborn child when the mother is scared seriously "by something; her breath (khi) then ascends without descending "again, and the operative energy of her soul (viz. her tsing) and "her breath both remain in her own body, thus causing the child "to get the tien disease" [2]. In other terms: a human being may be mad from lack of khi and tsing, having received nothing of these substances, or an insufficient quantity of them, from his mother before his birth.

But there exist other explanations of lunacy. From the synoptical table on page 26 we know that the western part of the Universe corresponds with the lungs and with joy, so that the Chinese cannot but conclude that the lungs are the organ or the seat of joy. Now we read in the *Ling chʿu king* [3], another standard work on medecine and pathology, ascribed, like the *Su wen*, to the emperor Hwang and commented upon by the same persons and a few others: "When "the lungs are unduly exhilirated they wound the pʿoh, and the "pʿoh being wounded, the individual becomes mad" [4]. Derangement of mind may, according to the same work, be also a consequence of injury done to the hwun: "When the liver is dejected "and in emotion, it wounds the hwun, and such wounding of "the hwun entails khwang" [5].

Of course, Chinese medical men admit the existence of quite a variety of causes of mental malady manifesting itself by madness. Wind and cold, the authors of most diseases, they place first in

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1 衣被不斂、言語善惡、不避親疎者、此神明之亂也. Ch. 17.

2 病名爲胎病。此得之在母腹中時其母有所大驚、氣上而不下、精氣并居、故令子發爲癲疾也. Ch. 47.

3 靈樞經. It contains eighty-one chapters. Though not known to have existed earlier than the tenth century, this work, like the *Su wen*, undoubtedly is a summary of the oldest traditional knowledge of pathology and medicine.

4 肺喜樂無極則傷魄、魄傷則狂. Chapter 8.

5 肝悲哀動中則傷魂、魂傷則狂. *Loc. cit.*

the list, besides evil spirits, as we will explain in detail in Part II, in a special chapter on demons of disease; — other causes it would take us too long to enumerate, apart from the fact that they would not shed any interesting light on our subject. The *Nan king* states, that "a man may become khwang or tien according to whether his Yang or his Yin is too heavy" [1], but on the reasons of these souls losing occasionally their proportional weight the venerable old book observes a learned silence. Sundry authors ascribe insanity to the fact that "the shen neglects to occupy or guard its proper abode" [2], that is to say, to a displacement of that soul within the body in consequence of fright or other sudden emotions. Or, also, they state the complaint to be simply "a disturbance of the shen ming" [3], while others say that it "consists in loss of the heart" [4], this organ being the central viscus and, as such, the chief seat of the soul (see p. 80).

Perfectly consonant with all such nice theories are numerous medical prescriptions against madness, in which we find it stated that they purport to settle (定) the hwun or the shen, or to suppress (鎮) the p'oh, the shen or the ling, or to set those souls at rest (安), or to lead the shen back into its abode 引神歸舍. It would be too large an extension of our task if we were to analyze those prescriptions or remedies and their substratum of superstition and philosophy, however abundant a harvest of interesting lore such work seems to promise. We may, perhaps, touch upon the subject occasionally later on in this work.

Convulsions and spasms, or so-called hien [5], also named king-hien [6] or "fright-convulsions", which harrass babies especially, are, as to their causations and the ways to cure them, placed by medical authors on the same footing with tien. They are wont to distinguish them in horse, cow, pig, goat, and fowl convulsions, according to the animal the patient mimics by mouth or gesture; and Yen Yung-hwo [7], who lived under the Sung dynasty, was lucid enough to see that these five sorts correspond respectively with the heart,

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1 重陽者狂、重陰者癲. The twenty-first difficult point.
2 神不守舍.
3 神明之亂.
4 失心.
5 癎.
6 驚癎.
7 嚴用和.

the lungs, the spleen, the kidneys, and the stomach [1]. That popular conception in Amoy attributes convulsions to a temporary absence of the soul, and attempts are made there to cure them by calling the soul back, we saw on page 243 of Book I. Medical works too state that they are connected sometimes with loss of tsing shen [2], caused in many cases, as we shall see in Part II in our chapter on demons of disease, by spectres snatching the soul out of the patient.

That convulsions trouble young infants more often than grown persons, is generally ascribed to their souls being still tender and weak, devoid of resistance, and highly impressionable. "The influence "of the shen in a baby", thus we read in a medical work, "is "faint and weak. So, when extraordinary things or unknown persons "are abruptly seen by it, or it hears a cock crow or a dog bark, "or when it perceives a cow, a horse, a bird, or a quadruped, "or some jest or play frightens it, or when it hears a loud human "voice, a thunderbolt, gunshots or crackers, then, if it was never "affected by fright before, such sights and noises may produce "contrary influences of strange men or things, and fright-convul- "sions. For, whereas it is the heart which houses the shen, the "shen is injured when that organ is frightened; and as it is the "kidneys that house the will, the will is lost when the kidneys are "scared. This is the case with all grown-up people, but especially "with children" [3].

So medical works unanimously declare it highly salutary that

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1 *Tsi sheng fang* 濟生方, "Remedies for succouring the Living", a work in eight chapters, of the author of which nothing is known but the name. Article 癎病論證, "disquisitions on the symptoms of hien disease".

2 失精神.

3 小兒神氣衰弱。忽見非常之物、或見未識之人、或聞雞鳴犬吠、或見牛馬禽獸、嬉戲驚嚇、或聞人之叫呼雷霆銃爆之聲、未有不驚動者也、皆成客忤驚癎之病。蓋心藏神、驚則傷神、腎藏志、恐則志失。大人皆然、小兒爲甚也. *Yuh ying kia pi* 育嬰家祕, "Domestic Mysteries regarding the Rearing of Children", a work by Wan Ts'üen 萬全, alias Mih-chai 密齋, a native of Lo-t'ien 羅田 in the extreme east of Hupeh, who lived under the Ming dynasty. Article 鞠養以愼其疾.

parents should slightly frighten their darlings now and then, in order to gradually strengthen their heart, their blood, and their soul. Weakness of these most important constituents of the body is a term always on the lips of practitioners explaining what their patients ail, and it is a general adage, referred to also in medical writings on children, that "it is less difficult to cure ten men than one woman, and easier to cure ten women than one babe" [1], on account, as we may expect, of the approportionate weakness or incompleteness of the breath or soul, or of the blood or pulses identified with the soul.

Sudden dumbness may be a consequence of the soul being abruptly frightened. According to the *Ling ch'u king*, "alarm and "fear, as well as anxious thoughts, wound the shen, and when "the shen is wounded, its owner becomes afraid and timorous" [2]. Lassitude, languor, and paralysis of the limbs are altogether affections of the soul, and it is sometimes dangerous to indulge in excessive merriment or great anger, for, as the *Su wen* teaches, "merriment "and anger injure the breath, as cold and heat injure the body. "Furious anger injures the yin, and wild joy the yang "substance" [3]. There are hardly any bodily diseases described in Chinese medical works as disconnected from indisposition of one of the souls, or from indisposition of the yang and the yin contained in the individual, or from infirmity of his tsing or his khi; and in most cases the mental malady is represented as a consequence of that of the body, and seldom as its causation. Of course we cannot waste our time in wading through the pile of medical books at our disposal, in order to illustrate these statements with quotations. Lack of time and space compels us to confine ourselves to a few desultory notes. Fright, anxiety, and sleeplessness are represented as consequences of agitation or emotion [4] of the shen, or of restlessness [5] of the hwun or the shen, or of these souls being unsettled [6] or in distress [7] — all which things accrue from a great variety of bodily indispositions. The

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[1] 寧醫十男子莫醫一婦人、寧醫十婦人莫醫一小兒.

[2] 怵惕思慮則傷神、神傷則恐懼. Chapter 8.

[3] 喜怒傷氣、寒暑傷形。暴怒傷陰、暴喜傷陽. Ch. 5, I.

[4] 動. [5] 不安. [6] 不定. [7] 患.

same complaints may be connected with prolonged absence of the soul from the body. Characteristic is the following diagnosis of such a case, to be found in a medical work eight centuries old:

"In the year k w e i-ch'eu of the S h a o h i n g period (A.D. 1133) "I sojourned for a short time in Szĕ-ming. In that place one "Mr. Tung lived, who suffered from restlessness of his s h e n and "his k h i. He could never lay himself down to sleep without "his h w u n flickering and flying about, and when he awoke, he "found his body in bed, while his s h e n h w u n was away from "him. He lived in fright and terror, and laboured much under "nightmare; whole nights through he could not sleep, and medicines "were of no avail, however frequently they were taken. I examined "that patient, and asked him what complaint had been worked "on by the physicians; on which he answered that all had "declared it to be a heart-disèase. I then said: 'It must be "treated as a case in which the arteries are concerned. Your liver "suffers from demonial influences; there is no question of heart-"disease. The k h i of your liver is empty, and therefore demoniacal "influences have taken its place; it is the liver which houses the "h w u n, and a wandering h w u n may cause phenomena of trans-"formation [1]; the liver of a healthy person does not admit spectral "influences, and when he lies down to sleep, his h w u n enters his "liver, and then his s h e n is quiet, and able to rest. But your "liver contains demoniacal influences, so that your h w u n cannot "return into it; hence, when you lie down to sleep, your h w u n "flies about, as if outside your body. And as the liver governs "anger, your condition grows very serious whenever you become "a little angry" [2]. No wonder that, after this wise diagnosis, our

1 Comp. page 13.

2 紹興癸丑予待次四明。有董生者患神氣不寧。每臥則魂飛揚、覺身在牀而神魂離體。驚悸多覺、通夕無寐、更醫不效。予爲診視詢之、曰醫作何病治、董曰、衆皆以爲心病。予曰以脈言之。肝經受邪、非心病也。肝氣因虛、邪氣襲之、肝藏魂者也、遊魂爲變、平人肝不受邪、臥則魂歸於肝、神靜而得寐。今肝有邪、魂不得歸、是以臥則魂飛揚若離體也。肝主怒、故小怒則劇.

Lei ching p'u tsi pen shi fang 類證普濟本事方, "Clever Recipes for

doctor cured the patient thoroughly by a sagacious application of mysterious drugs.

The heart is generally stated in medical writings to be an important factor in soul-disease. Uneasiness or restlessness of that organ, thus they say, may cause the thoughts to wound the s h e n, which wounding may then call forth so much fright and fear within the patient, that evil influences and spectres get free scope to injure his viscera. Others say, that when the heart labours under sorrow and melancholy, the h w u n and the p'o h are sickened, which phenomenon in its turn entails malady in the viscera — the heart thus being the organ which domineers the souls and the material organism. From this doctrine it follows logically, that the art of keeping the body in good health consists in preventing the soul-substance from being sickened by sorrow or spite; so that it becomes advisable never to allow such affections to gain the upper hand.

General Succour, tested in several Ways": a work in ten chapters by Hü Shuh-wei 許叔微, also named Chi-kho 知可, who lived in the twelfth century. T S, sect. 藝術, ch. 340.

CHAPTER VII.

ON ABSENCE OF THE SOUL FROM LIVING MAN.

The tale of Ching Ts'i-ying, the souls of whose five viscera left him and announced his death to him (p. 73), has acquainted us with the conception that the soul or the souls of a man may separate themselves from his body without their departure causing his immediate death. Stories pointing to the prevalence of a strong belief in this doctrine are to be found in Chinese literature in considerable numbers, and they teach us that an excarnated soul may show itself to human eyes in a shape quite like that of the body which it left, nay, as a likeness of it so perfect as to make unsuspecting man take it for the living individual.

So, T'ao Ts'ien [1], an author who lived from A.D. 365 to 427, wrote in a collection of marvels, current under the title of *Sheu shen heu ki* [2], "Posterior Record of Researches on Spirits":

"Under the Sung dynasty there lived a man, whose name has "now sunk into oblivion. After a night in bed, at the side of his "wife, the latter rose at sunrise and left the house, and her husband "did the same soon after her. Then the woman re-entered, and "saw her goodman asleep in the blankets. At the same moment "her slave came in, and told her that her husband asked for a "looking-glass. Thinking that the slave was deceiving her, the "woman pointed her finger to the man on the bed; and then, with "the words: 'And I have just come from him', the slave hurried "back, to tell him what she had seen. The man startled; he "entered immediately, to see as his wife did his own person in the "blankets in a sound sleep, his head on the raised pillow. It was

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1 陶潛, also named Yuen-liang 元亮 or Yuen-ming 淵明.

2 搜神後記. As this title indicates, we have here a similar work as Yü Pao's (comp. p. 78), and a continuation of it. Its authenticity suffers somewhat from the fact that it contains a few references to events which occurred some years after the author's death. Of this book, too, there exist two different editions, the one in ten chapters, and the other in two. Our quotations are always from the former, unless we state the contrary explicitly.

"exactly his own likeness, without one point of difference. Convinced "that it must be his soul, they dared not frighten or shake it; but "with their hands they gently stroked and tapped the bed, with this "effect that the soul gradually disappeared into the mat of the bed. "There was no end to their fright and fear. After a few hours "the husband suddenly became ill; he was awkward and bewildered, "and he never recovered" [1].

"Liu Shao-yiu was an able diviner, celebrated throughout the "Capital. In the T'ien pao period (A. D. 742—755) a stranger "visited him, and brought him a piece of silk lustring. Shao-yiu "took him into his house and asked what he came for. The answer "was that he desired to know how many years he had still to live. "Shao-yiu made a kwa, and no sooner had he it ready than he "said, with a melancholy sigh: 'This kwa of yours is not felicitous; "it corresponds with expiration, and with the evening of this day'. "The visitor in his turn heaved sighs of dismay for a good while, "and then asked for some gruel. A member of the family brought "him some water, and saw two Shao-yiu, so that he did not know "which of the two the visitor was. Shao-yiu pointed at the ghost "as the stranger, telling the person who brought the water to "give it to him; on which the stranger bade them farewell "and departed. A servant saw him out of the gate. Scarcely "had they gone a few paces, when the servant saw the other "vanish, and heard a most piteous wailing in the air. Then he "returned to Shao-yiu, and asked him: 'Do you know this man, "Sir? he spoke to me of all your former concerns'. Thus Shao-yiu "became aware that the visitor was his own soul. He told the "servant to go and have a look at the silk; and as this man "found it to be entirely of paper, Shao-yiu sighed and said: 'My

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[1] 宋時有一人、忘其姓氏。與婦同寢、天曉婦起出、後其夫尋亦出外。婦還、見其夫猶在被中眠。須臾奴子自外來、云郎求鏡。婦以奴詐、乃指床上以示奴、奴云適從郎聞來、於是白馳其夫。夫大愕、便入、與婦共視被中人高枕安寢。正是其形、了無一異。慮是其神魂、不敢驚動、乃共以手徐徐撫床、遂冉冉入席而滅。夫婦惋怖不已。少時夫忽得病、性理乖錯、終身不愈.

"soul has left me; I must die'. And he did expire in the evening "of that day" [1].

"One Ching Sheng travels to the Metropolis in the last year of "the T'ien pao period (A. D. 755), having to present himself "there as a candidate for the state service. On his arrival at the "western suburb of Ching-si, the sun has set, so that he sees "himself compelled to apply to an inn-keeper for a lodging. This "man asks him his clan-name; and as Ching gives it him, a slave-"girl is told by some one in the house to exclaim, out of doors: "'Miss, join your maternal grandmother!' An old matron then "forthwith comes down out of the hall of the house. Ching "salutes her; they sit down for a chat, and after a while he begins "to ask her about her matrimonial concerns. 'I have here at home "a daughter of my daughter', she says; 'her surname is Liu, and "her father is now in office as a prefect of the Hwai-yin district, "leaving it to me to level the ground in front of her house (to "facilitate her departure with a bridegroom). I will give her in "marriage to you; what do you think of it?' Ching is not bold "enough to refuse; and that same evening the nuptials are per-"formed and the sexual pleasures enjoyed in the highest degree.

"He remains in that house for several months, when the matron "tells him to go with his wife to Liu's. Ching accordingly takes "his wife to Hwai-yin. There he announces his arrival beforehand "to the family, thus causing among them a general commotion. "The mandarin's consort is just suspecting her goodman of having "some daughter by a wife somewhere abroad, and, her heart full "of jealousy, she feels very curious how she will look, and what

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[1] 柳少遊善卜筮、著名於京師。天寶中有客持一縑詣。少遊引入、問故。答曰、願知年命。少遊爲作卦、成而悲歎曰、君卦不吉、合盡今日暮。其人傷歎久之、因求漿。家人持水至、見兩少遊、不知誰者是客。少遊指神爲客、令持與客、客乃辭去。童送出門。數步遂滅、俄聞空中有哭聲甚哀。還問少遊、郎君識此人否、具言前事。少遊方知客是精神。遂使看縑、乃一紙縑爾、歎曰、神捨我去、我其死矣。日暮果卒. *Kwang i ki*; T S, sect. 人事, ch. 23.

"she will have to say. A short time after, the woman in question "enters; she goes to see her, and — she beholds a woman "different in no respect from the daughter of the house. She is "carried through the gate, alights from her vehicle, and slowly "strides up and down the courtyard. The daughter hears of it, "and smilingly comes also to have a look; but no sooner does she "reach the woman in the courtyard than they suddenly coalesce "and become one single body. The prefect immediately investigates "the matter, and discovers that his mother-in-law, who died some "time before, has simply given her granddaughter's soul in mar-"riage. Sheng tries to trace her dwelling, but it is not at all to "be found on the spot" [1].

Thus, according to these tales, the soul may exist outside the body as an entity in the fullest enjoyment of senses of perception, and as a duplicate of the body having its form as well as its solid consistency. Besides, as the last narrative tells us, the soul may be extracted from its owner's body by artificial means, especially by evocation. The prevalence of such a belief in China can no longer amaze us since we know from other pages of this work [2] that the

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[1] 鄭生者天寶末應舉之京。至鄭西郊日暮、投宿主人。主人問其姓、鄭以實對、內忽使婢出云、娘子合是從姑。須臾見一老母自堂而下。鄭拜見坐語、久之問其婚姻。乃曰、姑有一外孫女在此、姓柳氏、其父見任淮陰縣令、與兒門地相埒、今欲將配君子、以爲何如。鄭不敢辭、其夕成禮、極人世之樂。

遂居之數月、姑謂鄭生可將婦歸柳家。鄭如其言挈其妻至淮陰。先報柳氏、柳舉家驚愕。柳妻意疑令有外婦生女、怨望形言。俄頃女家入、往視之、乃與家女無異。既入門下車、冉冉行庭中。內女聞之、笑出視、相值于庭中、兩女忽合、遂爲一體。令卽窮其事、乃是妻之母先亡而嫁外孫女之魂焉。生復尋舊跡、都無所有. *Ling kwai luh* 靈怪錄, "Record of Curiosities about Souls", a collection of the T'ang dynasty, by one Niu Kiao 牛嶠.

2 Book I, pp. 243 *sqq.*

people there have always felt convinced of the possibility of calling back souls into the bodies they left behind in a state of trance or lethargy, or even death; indeed, between calling a soul into a body or out of it there is no essential difference.

Extracting souls from human beings is generally admitted by the Chinese to be a kind of black art, not always connected, however, in their country with murderous intent or with a desire to work evil. "At the end of the T'ien pao period (755)", for instance, it is related "there lived in Ch'ang-ngan one Ma 'Rh-niang, versed in "the art of evocation. The Governor of Yen-cheu, named Su Shen, "who lived with him on terms of friendship, wished to have a wife "for his son Lai from amongst the Lu family, and said to Ma: "'Having not more than one son, I must have a wife for him "who combines loveliness with capacities. The Lu family possess "three daughters; and as I do not know which is the best of "them, I shall feel much obliged if you will bring them here, "that the young man's mother may have a good look at them'. "Upon these words, Ma erected an altar in the hall of the Buddhas. "He performed his evocations at it, and in a moment the souls of "the three girls came to the spot, so that Lai's mother could see "them with her own eyes. 'The eldest', Ma said, 'is not devoid of "excellent qualities, but less good than the next, who is to become "(according to fate) a Governor's wife'. Accordingly, Su took the "latter as a wife (for his son). At the end of the T'ien pao "period Lai was promoted to the dignity of prefect of Yung-ning, "and perished in the turmoil caused by (Ngan) Luh-shan. From this "his family inferred that Ma had given false predictions; but after "the capture of the secondary Capital, Lai was endowed by Imperial "resolution with the (titulary) Governorship of Hwai-cheu" [1].

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[1] 天寶末長安有馬二娘者、善於考召。兗州刺史蘇詵與馬氏相善、初詵欲爲子萊求婚盧氏、謂馬氏曰、我惟有一子、爲其婚娶實要婉淑。盧氏三女未知誰佳、幸爲致之、一令其母自閱視也。馬氏乃於佛堂中結壇。考召、須臾三女魂悉至、萊母親自看。馬云、大者非不佳、不如次者、必當爲刺史婦。蘇乃娶次女。天寶末萊至永寧令、死于[安]祿山之難。其家懲馬氏失言、後二京收復有詔贈萊懷州刺史焉, *Kwang i ki*; K K, ch. 358.

"T'ang Pao-heng had met somewhere with Ling[1] of the Han "dynasty, who gave him some charms by means of which he "might catch souls and subdue them to his will. One day he said "to a friend of his: 'On going past some carts westward from "here, I discovered a small house, at the door of which stood "harnassed horses, and several women who had just alighted. None "of them wearing any veil over their head, I could see that one "of them, who was the second to leave her car, was somewhat more "than twenty years old, and by no means destitute of charms. I "think she must be the wife of the high officer newly arrived "in the Capital from the provinces. I will go this evening to "your fore-house, and while enjoying some spirits, summon that "woman to the spot, to see how she looks'. 'May you take "the liberty to wantonly call a woman of a respectable family?', "retorted the friend; 'if you do so, you will involve me in the "consequences'. But Pao-heng said: 'I will not call her person; I "will only catch her living soul for a joke; but we cannot do so "before the night, when she is asleep. And when she then comes "here in a dream, we must look at her from some distance, and "carefully abstain from approaching; else her soul will not be able "to return into her body, and she must die'.

"The evening came, and he went with his friend to the latter's "house. Having waited there a little while, they heard at the gate "a female voice. Pao-heng, well aware that it was the woman "he had seen, held his breath, and tied a coloured thread around "his middle finger. Then he strode into the study of his friend, "ordered the servant to bring the spirits, had some with his friend, "and told his attendants to go to bed. When the night had come "he rose, opened the gate, and in stepped the woman, the same "he had seen. She had quite a human shape, but she looked "rather hazy, as a being from the expanse above. Her voice was like "a child's. On seeing Pao-heng, she curtesied to him; and on his "asking her who she was, she gave him her clan-name, and stated "that her husband had come from the provinces to the Metropolis, "having retired from official life. She in her turn asked: What "'place is this? I remember I went to bed, and it is not of my "own free will that I am here; am I dreaming? do I distinguish "things clearly in my dream? I think I died; this is not the

1 Chang Tao-ling 張道陵, the renowned patriarch of Taoism, to whom we shall have to pay much attention elsewhere.

"Nether-world, is it?' — 'Here we are in a human abode', replied "Pao-heng; 'this time you will be allowed to return home; feel not "concerned about yourself, as your fate rests solidly upon your "behaviour in a former existence'. Thus they went on speaking together "till the fifth watch, when he dismissed her" [1].

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[1] 湯保衡遇漢陵、授以符籙可攝制鬼神。一日保衡語其友人曰、予適過西車子曲見一小第、門有車馬、有數婦人始下車。皆不以物蒙蔽其首、其第二下車者年二十許、頗有容色。意其士大夫自外至京師者必其妻也。予欲今夕就予前舍小飲、當召向所見婦人觀之。友人曰、良家子汝焉可妄召、必累我矣。保衡曰、非召其人、乃攝其生魂聊以爲戲耳。然必至夜俟其寢寐乃召之。若夢中至此止可遠觀、愼勿近之、近之則魂不得還、其人必死矣。

遂與友人薄暮出門過其舍。伺少頃聞門中有婦人聲。保衡必知乃適所見婦人、卽吸其氣、以綵綫繫其中指。旣而至友人學舍、命僕取酒至、與之對飲、令從者就寢。至夜保衡起開門、有婦人自外至、乃所見者。形質皆如人、但隱隱然若空中物。其語聲如嬰兒。見保衡拜之、保衡問其誰氏、具道某氏、其夫適自外、罷官還京師。復問保衡曰、此何所也、適記已就寢、不意至此、又疑是夢寐而此夢寐差分明、又疑死矣、此得非陰府耶。保衡曰、此亦人間耳、今便可歸、當勿憂也、命立於前款曲。與語至五更始遣去. *Wen kien heu luh* 聞見後錄, "The later Record of what I heard and saw", a work of the twelfth century, in thirty chapters, by the hand of Shao Poh 邵博 or Shao Kung-ts^{c}i 邵公齊. As the title shows, it is a continuation of another work, known as *Wen kien ts^{c}ien luh* 聞見前錄, "The earlier Record of what I heard and saw", written by Shao Poh's father Shao Poh-wen 伯溫, also named Tszĕ-wen 子文, who finished it in A.D. 1132. This product has twenty chapters, sixteen of which treat of events since the accession of the Sung dynasty; the other contain miscellaneous matters and, especially, the sayings and doings of the author's father, the renowned philosopher Shao Yung (A.D. 1011—1077), of whom we spoke on page 715 of Book I.

Fortunately, the wizard who played that lady so strange a trick, was no malicious evil-doer. His declaration that she would have died if they had come too near her, implies, however, that he could have harmed and killed her, had it been his wish; he might also have kept her soul, called out of her, in his power long enough to convert her body into an idiot or a corpse. Where a belief in the reality of such arts prevails, we may be sure to find also a belief in the existence of special malicious soul-robbers; and the facts confirm this inference. But it is not here the place to speak of that class of sorcerers. We will do so later on, in Part III.

Temporary departure of a man's soul from his body does not always take place independently from his own will. Frequently we find in the books mention of persons sending their soul out of themselves on purpose, especially with the aim to see hidden things. So, "one Mr. Fan Wen-ching had an eldest son, named Kien-pu "and Shun-yiu. This man had been drilled and instructed from "his youth so well, that he was cleverer and brisker than any "one. He was sure to foreknow his father's thoughts, besides being "able to emit his own shen. When Wen-ching was at the frontiers "on the west, he foreknew most things regarding Lu Ts'ing, and "that in spite of the great distance that lay between them — all "because his son sent out his soul to the courtyard of that man, "there to obtain information. Every victorious strategem of the father "was regarded as a work of the gods; but it was Kien-pu's power "that was the cause of all. On a certain occasion, the latter was "frightened by somebody, just on having sent away his soul. From "that moment he lost much of his seeing faculty, and died not "long after, still very young" [1].

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[1] 范文正公長子監簿純佑。自幼警悟、明敏過人。文正公所料事必先知之、善能出神。公在西邊、凡鹵情幾事皆預遙知、蓋出神之鹵庭得之。故公每制勝料敵如神者、監簿之力也。因出神爲人所驚。自此神觀不足、未幾而亡、時甚少也.

See T S, sect. 人事, ch. 23, which quotes this story from the *Mih-chwang man luh* 墨莊漫錄 or "Divers Writings from the Ink Cottage" — the name of the author's dwelling. This is a work in ten chapters on miscellaneous subjects, interspersed with some incredible stories. The author, Chang Pang-ki 張邦基, also named Tsze-hien 子賢, lived in the first half of the twelfth century.

"When Liu Poh-wen was young and a student, there lived in a "cell of a Buddhist convent a singular man, who sent his shen "away out of his own body now and then, and locked the door. "It once came to pass that, a month or a fortnight after he had done "so, an envoy arrived from the north, and put up in the building. "There was no cell for him to pass the night in. Then he perceived "the empty one, and with the words: 'This man is dead, forthwith "cremate him', he thumped the door open, adding: 'I will put "up here'. The monks could not interfere; his men burned the "body, but that very night the soul came back, to find its body "reduced to ashes, and its own self unable to revive. Then every "night it cried aloud: 'Where shall I settle?' Those who knew "him then opened their windows, saying: 'Here I am' — and "forthwith the soul then united itself with their body, to the effect "that their cleverness was greatly multiplied" [1].

The *Lang-hüen ki* relates of a Buddhist monk, who sent his soul from time to time into Paradise, with the object of guiding thither those of others who wished to walk there. "The monk Ting-shi "disposed of a curious art. Sitting down with some one in a quiet "cell, he seized his soul and strolled with it through the regions "of rest, where, generally speaking, they found things as they are "described in the Amitâbha Sutra. When the soul of that person "had thus wandered thither two or three times, the visions of his "dreams began to tally sometimes with his adventures there; and "when he had made the excursion several times in a dream, his "soul went, of course, nowhere else at his death. There is no doubt "that region was the Paradise of the West" [2].

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[1] 劉伯温少時讀書、寺中僧房有一異人、每出神去鎖門。或一月半月偶有北來使客。無房可宿。見此空房、擊開之、曰、此人死矣、可速焚葬、我住之。僧不能禁、遂焚之、其神夜返、身已焚、無復可生。每夜叫呼曰、我在何處基。知之開牕、應曰、我在、此神卽附之、聰明增前數倍. *Lung hing tsze ki* 龍興慈記, a work unknown to me, quoted in the TS, *loc. cit.*

[2] 等師僧有奇術。與人共坐靜室、能攝其神、共遊安養境界、大都與阿彌經所說彷彿。是人既神遊一二次則夢中所見往往類之、其夢遊既

In this tale, we see dhyâna, the Buddhist art of transplacing one's self into imaginary regions of bliss by force of imagination, interpreted as an emission of the soul into those regions. And the visions or dreams of the men whose souls were taken by that monk into Paradise, are represented roundly as actual peregrinations of those souls. Such identification of dreams with excursions of the souls of the dreamers is general in China. We shall see it recur in many a tale, and will pay ample attention to the matter on pp. 111 *sqq.*, as also in Part V, in a chapter on Oneiromancy. But still more may be learned from the series of tales reproduced in the above pages. While the fate of the monk so untimely sent to the pyre, teaches us that a soul passed out of the body of a living man may leave this body behind in a state of lethargy, all the other tales contain not the slightest indication that the soul's absence is necessarily combined with suspension of the bodily or mental functions of the individual concerned, nor even with a modification thereof. But for this, unconsciousness in its various forms is, as a rule, ascribed to a temporary absence of the soul. On pp. 243 *seq.* of Book I we mentioned this fact in some annotations on the actual ideas the Amoy Chinese entertain on the point, and on the way in which they try to recover sufferers from stupor, catelepsy or swoon, by calling the soul back into them.

Especially curious is the following modern story of a man who took his soul out of his own body, to render chastisements inflicted on the latter, and even capital punishment, totally effectless. "When "Fei Yuen-lung resided in Khien (Kwei-cheu), there lived a bad "character there, the sentences against whom formed a pile as high "as a hill. The mandarins had flogged him to death with sticks, "and they had flung his corpse into the river, but three days after- "wards he got his soul back again, and on the fifth day his evil "deeds recommenced. This occurred and recurred several times, "until the matter was reported to the Governor of the province. "This grandee flew into a great passion, and proposed to the "Governor-General to let him cut off that man's head. His body

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多則臨終靈性自無他往。必西方無疑也. T S. *loc. cit.* The *Lang-hüen ki* 瑯嬛記 is a collection of tales and legends, in three chapters, ascribed to one I Shi-chen 伊世珍 who lived under the Yuen dynasty. Lang-hüen, the Land of Bliss, 瑯嬛福地, was, according to the preface of the work, a region to which Chang Hwa was once taken by some mysterious immortal being.

"and his head were thus separated from each other, but in three "days he was alive again, his trunk and his head having re-united, "leaving no other mark of his decapitation than an almost invisible "red thread on his neck.

"Now a new series of crimes commenced. He even beat his "mother, who brought the matter before the magistrate. She carried "with her a vase. 'In this vase', thus she spoke, 'my refractory "son has hidden his h w u n. Whenever he was conscious of having "committed a serious crime, or a misdeed of the most heinous kind, "he remained at home, took his soul out of his body, purified it, "and put it in the vase. Then the authorities only punished or "executed his body of flesh and blood, and not his soul. With "his soul, refined by a long process, he then cured his freshly "mutilated body, which thus became able in three days to "recommence in the old way. Now, however, his crimes have reached "a climax, for he has beaten me, an old woman, and I cannot "forbear this. I pray you, smash this vase, and scatter his soul "by fanning it away with a windwheel; and if then you castigate "his body anew, it is probable that bad son of mine will really "die'. The mandarin followed her advice. He had him cudgelled to "death; and on examining his body, he found that decay had set "in within ten days" [1].

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[1] 費元龍在黔時有惡棍某、案如山積。官杖殺之、投尸於河、三日還魂、五日作惡。如是者數次、訴之撫軍。撫軍怒請王命斬之。身首異處、三日後又活、身首交合、頸邊隱隱然紅絲一條.

作惡如初。後毆其母、母來控官。手一罈曰、此逆子藏魂罈也。逆子自知罪大惡極故居家、先將魂提出、煉藏罈內。官府所刑殺者其血肉之體、非其魂也。以久煉之魂治新傷之體、三日卽能平復。今惡貫滿盈、毆及老婦、老婦不能容。求官府先毀其罈、取風輪扇扇散其魂、再加刑於其體、庶幾惡子乃眞死矣。官如其言。杖斃之而驗其尸、不浹旬已臭腐. *Tszě puh yü* 子不語, ch. 5. This is a valuable collection of 738 tales and notes on marvelous subjects, especially bearing upon spirits and ghosts. Its compiler Sui Yuen 隨園 (or Sui Yuen-hi 隨園戲?) lived in the second half of the 18th. century. The work is divided

Authors on the healing art, and practitioners, whose wisdom is in general borrowed from those authors, are in the habit of ascribing trance, coma, or cataleptic fits of whatever kind they may be, to a great variety of causes. They denote them all by the word k ü e h [1]. Such affections, they write and say, are owing to scantiness of blood or a superabundance of blood, or immoderate perspiration; they may occur also when the y a n g matter ascends in the body, instead of descending, the y i n and the y a n g substances then being prevented from circulating properly in the individual; intestinal worms may produce them, etc. And those disturbances of the constitution in their turn are caused either by wind and cold — the authors, according to Chinese views, of most complaints that harrass man — or by disturbance of the five Elements within his body, or by perturbation of his five viscera or six mansions.

Apart from this and other gibberish by which China's pathologists, with the boldest confusion of causes and consequences, try to explain the diseases in question, those sages are far from rejecting the popular ideas concerning their causation. To attest the truth of this assertion it is sufficient to point to the fact that among the remedies against k ü e h in its sundry forms, with which therapeutic works abound, we find as very effacacious certain "charms to get back the h w u n" [2], besides mixtures from the vegetable and mineral kingdoms denoted as "drugs for the return of the h w u n" [3] and "warm water solutions to bring it back" [4], respectively to be swallowed by the patient, or to be sprinkled or poured over him.

Absence of the soul may entail also madness and idiocy. This agrees with the philosophical doctrine ancient and modern, that the

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into 24 chapters, and has a supplement of ten, containing 277 tales and notes. It has a wide circulation in China, and is incontestably a most valuable source for knowledge of modern Chinese folklore. The title means: "What Confucius did not speak of", it being stated in the *Lun yü* (VII, 20) that "the subjects on which the Master did not talk, were strange things, feats of strength, anarchy, and spirits" 子不語怪力亂神. The book bears also the title of *Sin ts'i hiai* 新齊諧 or "the Modern *Ts'i hiai*", that is to say, a renovation of a record of marvels mentioned in the older Catalogues under the title of *Ts'i hiai ki* 齊諧記, by Sung Tung-yang 宋東陽, lost at an early date, and of which only a small supplement, entitled *Suh ts'i hiai ki* 續齊諧記, has remained, ascribed to Wu Kiün, who flourished in the first half of the sixth century.

1 癥. 2 追魂之符籙.

3 還魂丹. 4 反魂湯.

hwun or shen is the source of intellect. To prove the existence of that conception it suffices to refer to a pretty story in the seventh chapter of the *Liao-chai chi i*[1], entitled The Cricket[2]. It acquaints us with a villager named Ch'ing, who, having with many others to provide his prefect with fighting-crickets for the Court, incurs much bambooing for not bringing any. By the help of a soothsayer, who shows a good place for cricket-catching, he succeeds in finding a beautiful specimen, which he fosters with the tenderest care; but, unfortunately, it is killed by his little son. The affrighted boy runs away from home, and is found dead in a well; and as they are burying him, he comes round, but is deprived of reason. Then another cricket appears at Ch'ing's house, which being caught, proves to be a most skilful fighter, endowed with much intelligence. The prefect, on receiving it, gives Ch'ing a liberal reward, which is still superseded by valuable bounties from the Governor when the insect, delivered to him, has become the glory of His Majesty's collection. After a year or so, the boy's shen-tsing returns. He recovers his reason, and relates that he has been a cricket of great agility, skilful in fighting.

The reader has now reasons for asking whether sleep, which is a suspension of mental operation, is also considered by the Chinese as a temporary absence of the soul. To this we must say, that we do not know any authors expressing themselves explicitly on this point; nor have we ever come across any philosophizing for an explanation of sleep. The author of the *Shih ming* declared in this vocabulary in the second century of our era, "sleep to be "a transformation during which the tsing and the khi are trans- "formed, and not in the same condition as when their owner is "awake"[3]. Here, too, we have to refer to folklore for information. It shows that the Chinese really think that sleep may be a condition in which the soul wanders away.

"When Chao Shi", thus runs a tale, "a sub-prefect's intendant "of liquors, still lived in a college-building, it occurred that a "student in one of the cells fell into a sound sleep. He with "his comrades, wishing to have a little fun, set out a sacrifice "before that young man's bed, consisting of incense, candles, flowers, "fruit, mock money, and so forth, and then silently watched, to

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1 See our note on this work on page 138. 2 保織.

3 臥化也、精氣變化不與覺時同也. Ch. II, § 9.

"see what would happen. The sleeper awoke; his eyes fell upon "those things, and with the words: 'Am I dead already?', he began "to snore and pant incessantly, falling asleep again after a while. "As he did not rise for a long time, they went to look at him, "and found him really dead. They then removed the sacrificial "articles, and mutually agreed to keep their deed secret. Could "it be that the soul of this man, when he awoke and saw those "things, was dissolved by fright, so that it did not return into him? "In evil art there exist incomprehensible things" [1].

"A literary graduate of the lowest rank at Kien-ngan, Li "Ming-chung by name, lived in the country. Having been to a "remote village to a meeting, he returned home in the darkness "of the night, intoxicated, without any of his servants or followers. "Midway he was thrust by a mountain spectre, down the slope "of an abyss, where, disabled as he was by his inebriety, he fell "into a sound sleep, during which his shen went straightway "to his house. There it found his mother and his wife, seated "together by the light of the lamp. Before the mother the soul "made a respectful noise, but she gave no answer. It touched the "wife with its elbow, but she did not feel it; on which it suddenly "beheld an old greybeard coming forth from the central eaves. "With a polite bow he spoke to Ming-chung: 'Your body, Sir, "is being maltreated by a mountain spectre; if you do not go to "the spot immediately, it will die in reality'. Then grasping Ming-"chung's hand, he led him out of the house, and after a march of "some ten miles they found Ming-chung's inanimated body, lying "on the slope. With all his power the old man pushed it up "in the back, shouting out Ming-chung's surname and name; on "which the latter suddenly had the sensation of awaking from "sleep. He sat up, gazed around with fright, and seeing the

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[1] 通判監酒趙詩者昔在學校、嘗因齋生熟寐。與衆戲以香燭花果楮錢之類設供於臥榻前而潛伺之。寢者既覺見之曰、我已死耶、因唏噓不已、少頃復寐。久不起、視之眞死矣。乃徹供設之物、相與祕之。斯人豈乍覺見此、神魂驚散遂不復還體也。邪事有不可知者. *Kiang hing tsah luh* 江行雜錄, a work written presumably in the 13th. century; T S, sect. 人事, ch. 101.

"moon shine very bright, walked the rest of the road to his "house. Not before the third drum was beaten did he reach it, "and then he duly explained to his mother and wife why he was "so late. When the morning sun had risen, he and his family "together prepared spirits and must for that divinity, as an expression "of their respectful gratitude" [1].

The old man, who thus kindly brought Ming-chung's soul back into him, evidently was one of his penates, the "central eaves" [2] he came forth from, being the usual place assigned for the domestic worship of those divinities. The fact that his kindness purported to save the sleeper's life, brings us to the conclusion that the Chinese think death may be caused by the soul wandering away too far or too long from the body; in other terms, death is a departure of the soul for good.

In a country where such ideas on sleep thrive, giving rise to tales such as the above, we may expect to see dreams also explained as wanderings of the conscious immaterial duplicate. Philosophers may at any times have come somehow or other to reasoning away such reality of dreams; — untaught man, however, not having the remotest correct notion of what a dream is, simply recalls with great distinctness his adventures while asleep, and takes the facts as they occur. Everybody is there to tell him that his

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[1] 建安李明仲秀才山居。偶赴遠村會集、醉歸侵夜、僕從不隨。中道爲山鬼推墮溷仄、醉不能支、因熟睡中其神徑還其家。見母妻於燭下共坐。乃於母前聲喏、而母略不之應。又以肘撞其婦、亦不之覺、忽見一白髯老人自中霤而出。揖明仲而言曰、主人之身今爲山鬼所害、不亟往則眞死矣。乃拉明仲自家而出、行十里許見明仲之屍臥溷仄。老人極力自後推之、直呼明仲姓名、明仲忽若睡醒。起坐、驚顧而月色明甚、乃一路而歸。至家已三鼓矣、乃語母妻其故。晨起率家人具酒醴、敬謝於神云. *Ch'un-chu ki wen* 春渚紀聞, "Information recorded in the Vernal Island", ten chapters of miscellanies written by Ho Wei 何薳, who lived in the eleventh century. *Ap.* T S, sect. 人事, ch. 99.

[2] 中霤.

Chinese Representations of a Man Dreaming.

body did not leave the place where he lies; thus no other course remains to him than that of believing that he has two individualities, and that, while one remained, its duplicate was away.

The interpretation of a dream as an actual experience of the wandering double evidently was so general in his time, that Wang Ch'ung, the bold castigator of the conceptions and misconceptions of the first century of our era, whose writings are so rich a source of knowledge of the then prevailing popular ideas, judged it necessary to turn his sarcasm against it. "The explanations given of dreaming "are uncertain and confounding. It is said that, in dreaming, the "actively operating soul (tsing shen) remains in the body, and is "then an object for divination about good or evil; while others assert "that the soul then wanders about, and has intercourse with men "and beasts.... Let us verify the theory that the soul roams about "among men, by a dream of murder. If a man who dreams he "kills another, dreams he is murdered himself, we may search his "body all over next day, and he may examine his limbs himself; "but no indication at all will be found on it that he has been "cut or wounded by a sharp weapon. Should a dreamer set his "soul at work, this soul would be the soul of a dead (*i. e.* an "inanimate) man; and as even the soul of a dreamer can do no "harm to others, how then would it be possible for the soul of a "dead man to do any harm? [1]

"When some one has a dream" — thus our critic continues in another chapter, "diviners say this is a peregrination of his hwun, "and so, if he dreams that he appears before the Emperor (of "Heaven), it must be his hwun that ascends to heaven. Now, on "journeying to the spheres, we go in the same direction as when "we journey up a mountain. If some one climbs a mountain in "his dream, he has to do it by means of his legs, and with his "hands taking hold of the trees; but for a trip to heaven there is "nothing at all he can grasp; how then would he perform it, and

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[1] 夢者之義疑惑。言夢者精神自止身中爲吉凶之象、或言精神行與人物相更。。。今其審行人夢殺傷人。夢殺傷人若爲人所復殺、明日視彼之身察己之體、無兵刀創傷之驗。夫夢用精神、精神死之精神也、夢之精神不能害人、死之精神安能爲害. *Lun heng*, ch. 20, § 論死.

"that while the distance between heaven and man must be "estimated by ten thousands of miles? If a man moves at the rate "of a hundred miles a day, his h w u n, accompanying his body, "cannot go quicker than that; will it then move with more "velocity when it is alone? And if we admit that the soul may "travel just as quickly as the body can, then Kien-tszĕ, stated to have "made the journey to heaven and back, could not possibly have "woke up from his sleep before several years had elapsed [1]; and "yet he did so in seven days. What a speed then his soul must "have had during that time!

"The h w u n is breath (k h i) possessed of operative energy (t s i n g), "and movements of breath are like those of clouds or smoke. And "neither clouds, nor smoke are quick in moving; we may admit that "a h w u n moves as quickly as a flying bird, but a greater velocity it "cannot have. Now, if, when a man dreams he flies, it is really "his soul which he uses for such locomotion, even then his speed "cannot be greater than a bird's.

"But (we may object), when the air between heaven and earth "moves with more rapidity, it may become a hurricane. But a "hurricane lasts no longer than a day; and thus, admitting that "a soul moves as quickly as a stormwind, it cannot keep up this "speed any longer than one day — which is quite insufficient to "bring it up to heaven. And a dreamer's excursion to heaven lasts "no longer than one doze! Nay, on awaking, he still finds himself "in heaven and not yet descended to the earth; or when he "dreams he has travelled to Loh-yang, and awakes by some sensation "he has in that city, with how great a speed his soul must then "fly or galop back! If this speed exists, it certainly does not "exist in reality, and if it is no reality, neither is a journey to "heaven a reality" [2].

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1 See page 114.

2 且人之夢也占者謂之魂行、夢見帝、是魂之上天也。上天猶上山也。夢上山、足登山、手引木、然後能升、升天無所緣、何能得上天之去人以萬里數。人之行日百里、魂與體形俱尙不能疾、況魂獨行、安能速乎。使魂行與形體等、則問予之上下天宜數歲乃悟、七日輒覺。其何疾也.

夫魂者精氣也、精氣之行與雲烟等。案雲烟之

Wang Ch'ung's motive to turn this criticism against the belief of his time in the reality of dreams, was a dream of Kien-tszĕ [1], a ruler of the principality of Chao [2], who in 498 B.C., waking from a trance, said he had been in heaven and received there from the Supreme Lord valuable hints about great things to come. The record of this episode as given by Szĕ-ma Ts'ien characterizes so sharply the old Chinese ideas about dreams, that it is well worth being read in its entirety. "Kien-tszĕ was ill, and till the fifth day "he recognized nobody, much to the consternation of all the grandees. "They called Pien-ts'ioh, who came to see the patient. When he "left the room, Tung Ngan-yü asked him about the latter's health. "'His pulses throb regularly', the doctor replied, 'why then should "we feel amazed at his condition? In bygone times, the ruler Muh "of Ts'in (658—620 B.C.) was in a similar state; he awoke on "the seventh day, and said to Kung-sun Chi and Tszĕ-yü: 'I went "to the residence of the Emperor (of heaven), and greatly enjoyed "myself. I have been absent so long because I had to learn "something there. The state of Tsin, thus said the Emperor to "me, will suffer great turmoils; five reigns in succession will be "disturbed; subsequently a usurper will appear, but he shall die before "he is old, and then his son will reign, and no distinction will "be made between the two sexes. Kung-sun Chi wrote those "revelations down, and deposited them in the archives of Ts'in. "On this occurred the insurrections under the ruler Hien, the "usurpation of the ruler Wen, the victory of prince Siang over the "army of Ts'in at Hiao, and the debauchery and lewdness that followed. "These all are things you know. The disease of the king, our Lord, "is of the same nature; ere three days have passed away there will "be an intermission, during which he will be sure to speak'.

行不能疾、使魂行若飛鳥乎、行不能疾。人或夢飛者用魂飛也、其飛不能疾於鳥.

天地之氣尤疾速者、飄風也。飄風之發不能終一日、使魂行若飄風乎則其速不過一日之行、亦不能至天。人夢上天一臥之頃也。其覺或尚在天上、未終下也、若人夢行至洛陽、覺因從雒陽悟矣、魂神飛馳何疾也。疾在、必非其狀、必非其狀則其上天非實事也. Ch. 22, § 紀妖.

[1] 簡子. [2] 趙.

"In two days and a half Kien-tszĕ awoke. 'I went to the residence "of the Emperor', said he to his Ministers, 'where I much enjoyed "myself. With the host of shen I wandered about in the all-ruling "heaven. The music in nine tunes, resounding far and wide with "accompaniment of ten thousand dances, was other music than that "of the three dynasties; its tunes moved my heart. A bear came up, "and was going to grasp me, when the Emperor told me to shoot it; "I hit it, and it was dead. But then there came a spotted bear. This "beast too I shot down on the spot. Then the Emperor, exhilarated, "presented me with two baskets, each containing a set of things. "At his side I saw a child. The Emperor assigned to me a dog "from T'ih (the north of the present Shensi province), with the "words: 'I give it you for the bravest of your sons'. And then "he spoke: 'The realm of Tsin will see its glory decline more and "more under every new ruler, and it will come to an end after "seven reigns. The Ying clan (the reigning family of Chao) will "totally defeat that of Cheu westward from Fan-khwei, but it will "not be able to take possession (of its throne)'. Tung Ngan-yü "wrote these communications down as he received them, and "deposited them in the archives. And he told Kien-tszĕ what the "physician had said; on which this ruler endowed the latter with "forty thousand acres of ground" [1].

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[1] 簡子疾五日不知人、大夫皆懼。於是召扁鵲、扁鵲入視病。出、董安于問扁鵲。扁鵲曰、血脉治也、而何怪。昔秦穆公嘗如此、七日而寤、寤之日告公孫支與子輿曰、我之帝所、甚樂。吾所以久者適有所學也。帝告我晉國且大亂、五世不安、其後將霸、未老而死、霸者之子且令而國男女無別。公孫支書而藏之秦策。於是出夫獻公之亂、文公之霸、而襄公敗秦師於殽而歸縱淫。此予之所聞。今主君之病與之同、不出三日必間、間必有言也.

居二日半簡子寤。語諸大夫曰、我之帝所、甚樂。與百神遊於鈞天。廣樂九奏萬舞不類三代之樂、其聲動心。有一熊、欲援我、帝命我射之、中熊、熊死。有羆來。我又射之、中羆、羆死。帝

Complete proof that his excursion to the celestial regions was perfect reality, was given Kien-tszĕ soon after by the fact that — not in a dream this time, and with his whole escort around him to witness it — he met with the same young man he had seen at the throne of the celestial Emperor, and received from him full information as to what his experiences there had portended. It is likewise Szĕ-ma Ts'ien who relates this event. "On another day, "Kien-tszĕ went out, and found a man in his way. His escort "pushed that man aside, but he did not go away, and the "followers, indignant, were going to slay him, when he exclaimed: "'I desire an interview with our liege, the king'. The followers "reported this to Kien-tszĕ, who called the man, and said: "'Hem, here I have Tszĕ-cheh, whom I saw somewhere before'. "'Tell your suite to stand off', the man said, 'for I want to "speak with you'. Kien-tszĕ did so, whereupon the man on the "road spoke: 'While you were ill, my lord and king, I stood "at the Emperor's side'. 'That is so', said Kien-tszĕ, 'but what "did I do when you saw me there?' 'The Emperor ordered you to "shoot two bears, one of them spotted, and you killed them both'. — "'What did this portend?' asked Kien-tszĕ. 'The state of Tsin "will be involved in great difficulties; it is you, my king, who "will play the chief part therein, and the Emperor ordains that you "shall exterminate (the families of) its two Ministers-in-chief, of "whom two bears were the ancestors'. And, thus Kien-tszĕ went on "to say, 'the Emperor gave me two hampers, each with a set of "articles; what did this mean?' 'Your sons will subdue two realms "in T'ih, the names of which will then become their surnames'. — "'And when I saw you at the Emperor's side, the latter assigned "to me a T'ih dog, saying he gave it me for the most glorious of "sons; what do you think of that present?' — 'By those sons he "meant your sons, my lord, and a T'ih dog was the ancestor of the "people of Tai; so this region your sons shall come in possession "of, and your posterity shall rule over it; the Tatars shall submit

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甚喜、賜我二笥、皆有副。吾見兒在帝側。帝屬我一翟犬、曰及而子之壯也以賜之。帝告我晉國且世衰、七世而亡。嬴姓將大敗周人於范魁之西、而亦不能有也。董安于受言、書而藏之。以扁鵲言告簡子、簡子賜扁鵲田四萬畝. Historical Records, ch. 105, ll. 2 *seq.* Also in ch. 43, l. 7.

"to their supremacy, thus aggrandizing T'ih with two other realms'. "The Ruler then asked the man to mention his clan-name, and "he invited him to accept an official dignity; but with the words: "'I am a mere rustic delivering the commands of the Emperor', "he vanished from view. Kien-tszĕ committed this event to writing, "and deposited it in the archives" [1].

We need hardly assert that a further perusal of Szĕ-ma Ts'ien's history of that princely family shows, that all those predictions were fulfilled to the very letter. Ever since, this nice specimen of early historiography has passed in China for a standard proof of the reality of dreams, and the gods, ghosts and spirits of Kien-tszĕ's vision have always been believed as actually met by his roving soul; in fact, "if a dreamer thinks his own actions real, he cannot but ascribe reality to whatever he sees — place, thing, or living being" [2]. And Wang Ch'ung with his sceptic criticisms remained alone, a *vox clamantis in deserto*. But there is more to prove that dreams have always passed for excursions of the etherial duplicate, with encounter of spirits. In all ages, the books, not excluding such highest class works as the Standard Histories, regularly record

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[1] 他日簡子出、有人當道。辟之、不去、從者怒將刃之、當道者曰、吾欲有謁於主君。從者以聞、簡子召之、曰譆、吾有所見予晰也。當道者曰、屏左右、願有謁。簡子屏人、當道者曰、主君之疾臣在帝側。簡子曰、然有之、子之見我、我何爲。當道者曰、帝令主君射熊與羆、皆死。簡子曰、是且何也。當道者曰、晉國且有大難、主君首之、帝令主君滅二卿、夫熊與羆皆其祖也。簡子曰、帝賜我二笥、皆有副、何也。當道者曰、主君之子將克二國於翟、皆予姓也。簡子曰、吾見兒在帝側、帝屬我一翟犬、曰及而子之長以賜之、夫兒何謂以賜翟犬。當道者曰、兒主君之子也、翟犬者代之先也、主君之子且必有代、及主君之後嗣且有革政、而胡服、并二國於翟。簡子聞其姓而延之以官、當道者曰、臣野人、致帝命耳、遂不見。簡子書藏之府. The same work, ch. 43, l. 8.

2 Spencer, The Principles of Sociology, ch. X, § 71.

cases of shen appearing as beautiful lads or venerable greybeards in red, white or yellow dresses, to give sleepers warning, advice or instruction in word or pantomine. And numerous dreams, accounted valuable as remarkable or useful revelations of spirits or spiritual agencies, were inserted in the books of every epoch, and their long list acquaints us with a wide-spread system of oneiromancy, established in the Empire in the oldest times we know of. It is not the place here to review that system. We will do it later on, in Part V, in one of our chapters on the various ways in which the East-Asiatic consults his spirits, to ensure success in his undertakings, and felicity and prosperity for himself and others.

Nor is that all. Far from rare are the recorded instances of miscreants, haunted in their sleep by the souls of their murdered victims or of dead men and women they formerly wronged and molested, or plunged into sorrow and misery, such unwelcome visits to their wandering duplicates being intended to thoroughly disturb their rest and health, nay, to render them mad, or to kill them. Instances of such apparitions will be laid before the reader in chapter XVI, which treats of retributive justice done by spirits. Finally, in this connection mention must be made of a number of instances of human souls appearing in dream to generous individuals whose help or protection they want, or to whom they wish to offer thanks or rewards after such help or protection has been given them. Three cases of this kind we have already given (Book I, pp. 856, 862 and 915); here are two more: "Under "the reign of the emperor Wu of the Tsin dynasty it came to "pass in the second year of the Hien ning period (A.D. 275) "that one Yen Ki, a Lang-yé man, sickened and died. He had "been encoffined a long time, when the family all at once "dreamed that he said to them: 'I must return to life; be quick "and open the coffin'. They let him out, and gradually he regained "power to drink and eat" [1]. — When Hi Khang was still a young "man, he one day took a siesta, and dreamed of a man more than "a chang in length, who said he was a musician of the emperor "Hwang, and that his skeleton, dug out of his grave, lay in the

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[1] 晉武帝咸寧二年二月琅邪人顏畿疾死。棺斂已久、家人咸夢畿謂己曰、我當復生、可急開官。遂出之、漸能飲食. Books of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 34, l. 26; also in the Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 29, l. 39.

"thicket, three miles eastward from the house. He entreated him "to bury it, promising he would reward him liberally. Khang went "to the spot indicated, and found there some white bones, with "a shin-bone three feet in length. He collected them and com- "mitted them to the earth; and next night he saw in his "dream the giant come again and give him a Kwang-ling song. "On awaking he played it on his lute, and so pure and fine the "melody was, that it was never lost" [1].

Among the hundreds of dreams, inserted in the books of all times, we find some of which it is stated explicitly that the soul of the dreamer passed out of his body; but in the majority of cases its departure simply is tacitly supposed. Not seldom do we read of a shen leading the soul of a dreamer away, to roam about with it for a time and show it Paradise, or other curious places and things. So did the shen of the Buddhist monk we spoke of on page 104, who gave to the dreamers entrusting themselves to his guidance so intense a habit of travelling thither, that in the end they made the voyage by themselves over and over again, finally swerving away into Paradise for good. When thus out of his body, the soul of a dreamer may travel in a short time over enormous distances. Notorious for this is an aerial journey made in the sixth century of our era by a king of Kan-t'o-li [2], a region situated at the time somewhere in Cochin-China. "In the first year "of the T'ien kien period of the Liang dynasty (A.D. 502), on "the eighth day of the fourth month, that Kü-t'an-siu-poh-to-lo "had a dream of a Buddhist monk, who said to him: 'The "Middle Kingdom now possesses so holy a ruler that after ten "years the doctrines of Buddha shall thoroughly thrive there. If "you send envoys to him with tribute, to pay him homage,

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[1] 稽康少嘗晝寢、夢人身長丈餘、自稱黃帝伶人、骸骨在公舍東三里林中、爲人發露。乞爲葬埋、當厚相報。康至其處、果有白骨、脛長三尺。遂收葬之、其夜復夢長人來、授以廣陵散曲。及覺撫琴而作、其聲正妙、都不遺忘. *Iyuen* 異苑, "the Copse of Wonders", a work on spirits and marvel in ten chapters, ascribed to Liu King-shuh 劉敬叔, a high officer who died in the period T'ai shi (A.D. 465—471). The work was not drawn up from existing fragments until the Ming dynasty. TS, sect. 庶徵, ch. 146.

[2] 干陁利.

"your territory shall prosper, happiness shall reign in it, and its "traders shall increase to a hundred times their present number; "but if you do not believe me, this country will be unable to "maintain its own order and peace'. The king at first placed no "belief in the matter, but then he dreamed again of that monk. "'As you do not believe me', he spoke, 'I shall have to let you "go there yourself to see him'. And away the king travelled in "his dream to the Middle Kingdom, and respectfully he appeared "there before Heaven's Son; and when he awoke, he felt very "astonished in his heart. Being himself a painter, he took a sketch "of Wu's features as he had seen them in his dream, retouching "them with red and blue colours. And he sent an envoy with a "painter thither, to present a letter and offer jade dishes and "other things, ordering the artist to paint a portrait of His Majesty's "person on the spot, and bring it home. And just like that it "was which the king himself had made" [1].

A country where the doctrine that dreams are adventures of the wandering duplicate in regions otherwise unseen, was received by every one as a matter of course — such a country alone, we think, could produce authors selecting such visionary adventures as topics for narratives and novelettes. Their writings, though productions of fiction, claim our interest as authentic portraits of the nation's genius and inventiveness. They show us, however, that the Chinese are remarkably deficient in imagination. Indeed, even in a field like this, which allows unlimited play to the most speculative among speculative brains, China's literary productions give us hardly anything to read than things actually existing in

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[1] 梁天監元年其王瞿曇修跋陁羅以四月八日夢一僧謂曰、中國今有聖主、十年之後佛法大興。汝若遣使貢奉禮敬、則土地豐樂、商旅百倍、若不信我、則境土不得自安。初未之信、既而又夢此僧。曰、汝若不信我、當與汝往觀。乃於夢中至中國、拜覲天子、既覺心異之。陁羅本工畫、乃寫夢中所見武帝容質、飾以丹青。仍遣使并畫工、奉表獻玉盤等物、使人既至摸寫帝形以還其國。比本畫則符同焉. History of the South, ch. 78, l. 13.

the realm of the awake. A standard work in this class is the *Mung yiu luh* [1], "Record of Perambulations in Dreams", which appeared under the T'ang dynasty. Such narratives occur also in considerable numbers in general books of marvel and fiction, as the *Liao-chai chi i* and others.

The general prevalence of such conceptions about dreams as are sketched in the above pages, does not exclude the fact that there have been speculative minds who indulged in other theories regarding their causation. These are, however, as far as we know them, too silly to deserve attention. To instance this from the writings of the sage Yin of Kwan: "He who likes Benevolence has often dreams of pines, "cypresses, peach trees and plum trees; but he who loves Right-"eousness dreams mostly of soldiers, sharp weapons, metal and iron. "The man fond of Ceremony and Rites will in general dream of "sacrificial wickers, vessels and platters, baskets and pots; while "admirers of Knowledge dream as a rule of rivers, lakes, streams "and marshes. Finally, those who like Trustworthiness are in the "habit of dreaming of mountains, hills, and plains" [2].

If a man can live without his soul being in him, can not he then live also when a part of his soul is absent? No Chinese can possibly doubt it.

But, enjoying good health when thus partly inanimate, seems to be thought impossible. Physicians consulted about patients, are often heard to declare that their s h e n, h w u n or p'o h is "insufficient" [3], "incomplete or deficient" [4], they thus showing, like the great majority of their countrymen, that they consider human souls to be composed of etherial fluid divisible into lots in every proportion, and even breakable into molecules. We seem, indeed, fully entitled to speak of greater or smaller quantities of soul-substance, composing souls of various completeness and perfection.

Thus Su Tung-p'o, the renowned poet (1036—1101), wrote: "Chao "P'in-tszĕ said to a certain man: 'Your s h e n is incomplete'. But the

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1 夢遊錄, by one Jen Fan 任蕃, or 任繁.

2 好仁者多夢松柏桃李、好義者多夢兵刃金鐵、好禮者多夢簠簋籩豆、好智者多夢江湖川澤、好信者多夢山岳原野. *Kwan Yin-tszĕ.*

3 不足. 4 不全 or 不完.

"other would not assent, and said: 'My comrades and friends are "so numerous that they could fill ten thousand vehicles; and my "mole-crickets and ants (subjects and followers) would make three "armies; and my riches are as abundant as chaff and husks. At "night I am lifeless, and in the daytime I live; why then do you "declare my shen to be incomplete?' 'All those things', Chao "P'in-tszĕ answered with a sneer, 'are upheld by the breath (temper) "of your blood; it is your fame and your righteousness that keep "them up, but they are not the work of your shen'"[1]. — "Ch'en Wu-khi", we read in another book, "states that the nation "think there are nine hundred kinds of mental derangement, which "they take for incompletenesses of the operating soul (tsing "shen). But why not do they make a thousand of it, to have a "round sum?"[2].

Such ideas on occasional incompleteness of the two souls or of one soul are evidently affiliated with certain notions of the Sung school of philosophy, referred to on pages 57 *seq.* and 60, according to which there may exist a disproportion of one of the souls to the other. Prominent figures in that school, as we saw on those pages, taught that if a man's shen or hwun declines and, consequently, his p'oh or kwei gains a preponderance over it, he will undergo bodily deterioration, entailing debility. The philosopher Yin of Kwan

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[1] 趙貧子謂人曰、子神不全。其人不服、曰、吾僚友萬乘、螻蟻三軍、糠粃富貴、而晝夜死生、何謂神不全乎。貧子笑曰、是血氣所扶、名義所激、非神之功也. *Tung-p'o chi lin* 東坡志林, "Tung-p'o's Forest of Reminiscences", five chapters of annotations by Su Tung-p'o or Su Shih 蘇軾. TS, sect. 人事, ch. 23.

[2] 陳無忌云、世人以痴爲九百、謂其精神不足也。豈以一千卽足數耶. *Ngai jih chai ts'ung ch'ao* 愛日齋叢鈔, a work in five chapters, giving a great number of historical matters of interest. The author is thought to have borne the surname of Yeh 葉, and to have lived about the end of the reign of the House of Sung; his personal names are unknown. The work has been saved from destruction by the compilers of the *Yung-loh ta tien* 永樂大典, the "Great Thesaurus of the Yung loh period", a cyclopedia in more than twenty thousand chapters, drawn up by Imperial order in the first decade of the fifteenth century. The present edition is in the main a compilation of extracts preserved in that gigantic work. The above quotation is from the TS, sect. 人事, ch. 23.

also calls attention to the fact that "mankind think, that when "the pʿoh has a hold upon the hwun, there exists a super- "abundance of metal in the system and, in consequence, a want "of wood, while, according to the sages, the contrary is the case "when the hwun directs the pʿohʺ [1]. Metal and wood are, indeed, as we saw on page 48, according to the same sage, the elements constituting in particular the hwun and the pʿoh.

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[1] 衆人以魄攝魂者金有餘、則木不足也、聖人以魂運魄者木有餘、則金不足也.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON RE-ANIMATION AFTER DEATH.

1. Resuscitation of the dead by their own souls.

From the ideas, sketched in the last chapter, on the possibility of temporary separation of the soul from the body, we come to a derivative conception of no small importance in animistic lore. Man witnesses excarnations of souls in sundry forms, manifesting themselves in sleep and dreams, and, occasionally, in trance and coma, whereas all these conditions are insensibility various in their degrees and lengths. But they are always followed by a return of the soul, that is, by a renewal of life and consciousness. May not we then expect East-Asian men to have the same thoughts also in regard to death, which, too, is insensibility?

This point we paid much attention to in the First Book. The whole Second Part of it we devoted to the ideas on rescuscitation from death, and to a description of a long series of customs which all tend to place it beyond doubt that the Chinese, from the most remote times, have considered death itself as a temporary insensibility, which may be followed by a return of the soul, to re-occupy the corpse and revive it. This conception created a derivative tenet of no less significance, which we emphasized in ch. VI of the Second Part of Book I: — the soul abides with the corpse in the grave. A paramount influence this belief has always exercised on Chinese life, being the foundation of the whole compound of ideas and usages to the description of which the Third Part of Book I was devoted by us. We learned therein, that the expected resurrection is not confined to any time, and that it may take place after months and years.

Tales innumerable of the resurrection of men and women who had been dead for days, nay, who had rested in their graves for years, are current among the people. No doubt the majority thereof are traceable to cases recorded in the books. In the *T'ai-p'ing*

kwang ki alone (ch. 375 to 386) I find one hundred and twenty-seven cases, gleaned from sundry earlier works, and this thesaurus goes up only to the tenth century of our era. With these facts before them, evangelists in China must hardly feel astonished at finding that the Lord's resurrection, which they preach, makes little impression on the reading class, in the eyes of whom that miracle must appear a very commonplace event.

Cases of revival from death are even chronicled in such high class works as the Standard Histories are. The two oldest instances we have found therein, are the following: "In the Ch'u p'ing "period (A.D. 190—193), falling under the reign of the emperor "Hien, a person named Hwan, living in Ch'ang-sha, had died, "and had been more than a month in his coffin, when his mother "heard some noise in it. They opened it, and he revived. The oracle "explained the case in this way, that when the highest degree of "yin (death) becomes yang (life), it forebodes that one of low birth "shall become the highmost. And indeed, afterwards a Ts'ao Ts'ao "arose from amongst the common soldiery" [1], and he fought his way up to the Imperial dignity. — "Li Ngo, the daughter of a "district's prefect in Wu-ling, died in the second month of the "fourth year of the Kien ngan period (A.D. 199), at the age "of more than sixty. She was buried in a coffin of san wood "provided by her family, at several miles from the city-walls. A "fortnight after, a passer-by heard some noise from the grave; "and on his informing the family of it, they made for the spot, "and heard the noise themselves. They dug the woman out, and "saw her revive" [2].

Still more extravagant are some narratives of that kind, which we find in the Books of the Tsin and the Sung dynasty. "In the "reign of the emperor Ming (of the Wei dynasty), in the third

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[1] 獻帝初平中長沙有人、姓桓氏、死棺斂月餘、其母聞棺中聲。發之、遂生。占曰、至陰爲陽、下人爲上。其後曹公由庶士起. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 27, l. 6.

[2] 建安四年二月武陵充縣女子李娥年六十餘物故。以其家杉木槽斂葬於城外數里上。已十四日有行聞其塚中有聲、便語其家、家往視聞聲。便發出、遂活. *Op. et loc. cit.*

"year of the T'ai hwo period (A.D. 229), some persons had opened "a grave, built in the time when the Cheu family reigned, and "found a girl in it, who had been buried with the corpse. After "some days she began to breathe, and in a few months she "regained the faculty of speech. The empress-dowager Kwoh took "a fancy to her, and provided for her. — And some people in "T'ai-yuen having opened a grave and broken the coffin, found a "living woman in it, who, on being asked about her origin, said "she knew nothing about it. The trees on that grave were nearly "thirty years old. — Under the reign of Hwui (of the Tsin dynasty), "when Tu Sih was committed to the earth, his slave-maid, by a "mistake, could not get out of the grave. After ten years, when "they opened the grave to bury another corpse in it, they found "her alive. At first she was as if blind, but after a time she "gradually regained consciousness, and then she related that she "had slept repeatedly beside her master. She had been buried at "the age of fifteen or sixteen, and was just as old when she revived "on the grave being opened. She married afterwards, and gave birth "to some sons" [1].

In addition, the same pages of these two historical works give us the following tale: "Likewise under the reign of the emperor Hwui "of the Tsin dynasty, a girl in the kingdom of Liang was affianced, "and the betrothal money had been accepted by her family, when "unexpectedly her bridegroom was enlisted for the army in Ch'ang-"ngan. A year elapsed, but he did not return. The family then "married the maid to another man; she refused to follow him, but "her parents compelled her, so that she had to submit to their "will and leave them. But then she got ill, and died. On this, "the first bridegroom returned. He asked where the girl was, and "on being informed by the family of everything that had happened

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[1] 明帝太和三年有開周世冢、得殉葬女子。數日而有氣、數月而能言。郭太后愛養之。又太原人發冢破棺、棺中有一生婦人、問其本事、不知也。視其墓木可三十歲。惠帝世杜錫家葬而婢誤不得出。後十年開冢祔葬而婢尚生。始如暝而頃漸覺、問之、自謂再宿耳。初婢之埋年十五六、及開冢更生猶十五六也。嫁之、有子. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 29, ll. 39 and 41. Books of the Sung Dyn., ch. 34, ll. 24 and 27.

"in the mean time, he went right to the grave, and, unable to "suppress the impulse of his sorrow and love, opened it, and the "coffin also. On which the girl revived, and returned with him to "her house. Now the second son-in-law, who heard of it, applied "to the magistrate, to dispute the other's possession of the woman. "This grandee found himself unable to decide with whom she "ought to live; but Wang Tao, the Keeper of the Secret Archives, "pronounced the following sentence: 'This case is of an extra-"ordinary character, and cannot be settled according to the ordinary "principles. Let her go home with the first husband'. This judgment "was approved by the Imperial Court" [1].

In its fifteenth chapter, the *Sheu shen ki* gives us that tale in a more romantic garb, stating that it occurred in the reign of Shi Hwang, the potentate of the Ts'in dynasty. From a biography of Yü Pao, the author of that work, which occurs in the Books of the Tsin Dynasty, we learn that he was induced by a similar case of revival after a long burial, to write his book. "His father was "owner of a favourite slave-maid, of whom his mother was so "jealous, that at his father's death she pushed her alive into his "grave. At that time Pao and his brothers were young, and thus "remained ignorant of this event until more than ten years after, "when the mother died in her turn, and the grave being opened for "her, the slave was found lying over the coffin. She seemed to be "alive, and when carried home, she awoke on the next day, relating "how the father had provided her regularly with food and drink, "bestowing favours and affection upon her as he had been wont "to do before his death. In the house she foretold now and then "happy and unhappy events, and those predictions were all fulfilled. "She had by no means felt uncomfortable in the ground. She was "married, and gave birth to sons. And one of Pao's brothers sickened "and breathed his last, and his body was not cold for several days.

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[1] 晉惠帝世梁國女子許嫁、已受禮聘、尋而其夫戍長安。經年不歸。女家更以適人、女不樂行、其父母逼强、不得已而去。尋得病亡。後其夫還。問女所在、其家具說之、其夫徑至女墓、不勝哀情、便發冢開棺。女遂活、因與俱歸。後婿聞之、詣官爭之。所在不能決、秘書郎王導議曰、此是非常事、不得以常理斷之、宜還前夫。朝廷從其議.

"In the end he awoke, and said he had witnessed all sorts of "things relating to kwei and shen in the heavens and on "earth, with the sensation of being in a dreaming state, and "by no means dead. It was on account of these events that Pao "made a collection of narratives, ancient and modern, about "spiritual wonders wrought by shen and divinities, and about "metamorphoses of men and beasts, to which work he gave the "title of Record of Researches after Spirits. It contained twenty "chapters" [1].

The following case of wonderful revival of a long-buried corpse, stated to have taken place in the fifth century, may interest the reader for the details connected with it: —

"The Bodhi convent, erected by Mongols from western regions, "is situated close to the village of Mu-i. The Çramana Tah-to there "broke open a grave for the bricks, and discovered a man in it, "whom he sent to Court. The empress-dowager, who resided at that "time in the chief Hwa-lin hall with the emperor Ming (who reigned "from 465 to 473), considered the matter as a rare miracle, and "asked Sü Hoh, the Chamberlain of the Yellow Gates, whether such "things had often occurred from the oldest times onward. The answer "was: 'Formerly, when the Wei dynasty possessed the throne, "some graves were broken open, when they found in one of them "a slave of Fan Ming-yiu, Hwoh Kwang's son-in-law. The infor- "mation he gave about the downfall of the Han dynasty tallied "perfectly with the books of history. So the present case is not "much to be amazed at' [2]. The empress now ordered Sü Hoh to

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[1] 寶父先有所寵侍婢、母甚妬忌、及父亡母乃生推婢於墓中。寶兄弟年少、不之審也、後十餘年母喪開墓、而婢伏棺。如生、載還、經日乃蘇、言其父常取飲食與之、恩情如生。在家中吉凶輒語之、考校悉驗。地中亦不覺爲惡。既而嫁之、生子。又寶兄嘗病氣絶、積日不冷。後遂寤、云見天地間鬼神事如夢覺、不自知死。寶以此遂撰集古今神祇靈異人物變化、名爲搜神記。凡二十卷. Ch. 82, l. 13. The same statements we find in the *Sheu shen heu ki*, ch. IV, l. 1.

2 This case is related in the *Poh wuh chi*, ch. VII, and in some other records of marvels. Hwoh Kwang was a Minister, mentioned frequently in our First Book.

"interrogate that slave about his names, the number of years "elapsed since his death, and the kinds of food and drink he had "taken. And he said: 'My name is Tsᶜui Hung, and my cognomen "is Tszĕ-han. I am a native of Ngan-pᶜing in Poh-ling; my father "is named Chᶜang, and my mother's clan-name is Wei. Our "dwelling stood in the village of Chun-tsᶜai, to the west of the "city. I died at fifteen, and now I am twenty-seven, so that I "have been under the ground for twelve years. I always felt there "as if I were tipsy or drowsy, and ate nothing, but from time to time "I roamed about, and then I found occasionally something to eat. "Everything was to me like phantasms, hazy and indistinct'.

"The empress forthwith sent her private secretary Chang Siu-hi "to that village, to inquire after the parents of the man. And he "found there indeed one Tsᶜui Chᶜang, and his wife was of the "Wei clan. 'Had you a child who is now dead?' he asked them. "'We had a descendant whose cognomen was Tszĕ-han', they "replied, 'but he died at fifteen'. 'He has been dug up from his "grave', said the envoy; 'he is now alive and quite well in Hwa-lin "park; my mistress has sent me hither for information'.

"At these words Chᶜang was seized with fright. 'He cannot "possibly be that child', he exclaimed, 'I told you a lie'. Siu-hi "returned to the Palace, and made a circumstantial and true report "about the matter. And back he was sent by the empress with "Tszĕ-han, to take him to his family. Chᶜang, who heard them "come, kindled a fire before the door. With a sword, and his wife "with a branch of a peach tree, he cried: 'Stand off! I am not "your father, nor are you my son; quick, get away, lest something "bad happen to you'. Thus rejected, Tszĕ-han went away, and "began to lead a wandering life in the streets of the capital, always "passing his nights within some office-gate. The prince of Jü-nan "bestowed a yellow suit of clothes on him. He shunned sunlight, "and dared not look up at it. Water, fire, and weapons of whatever "description he feared, and he ran regularly down the streets until "he was quite exhausted. Never did he walk slowly, and the people "continued to take him for a spectre.

"North of the main street in Loh-yang, in the Fung-chung ward, "lived the funeral furnishers and coffin-merchants. Tszĕ-han advised "them to make coffins of cypress timber without lids (?) of mulberry "wood, and when asked for the reason, he spoke: 'While under the "ground, I saw some men enlisting soldiers among the spectres. "A spectre said to them: 'I must be exempted from enlistment,

"for I belong to a cypress coffin'. But the chieftain retorted: "'Your coffin is in fact of cypress wood, but the lid is of mulberry "timber' — and he was not exempted'. When this story became "known in the capital, the price of cypress wood suddenly rose, "so that some began to suggest that the dealers in that wood had "bribed Tszĕ-han to tell such stories" [1].

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[1] 菩提寺西域胡人所立也、在慕義里。沙門達多發塚取甎、得一人以進。時太后與明帝在華林都堂、以爲妖異、謂黃門侍郎徐紇曰、上古以來頗有此事否。紇曰、昔魏時發冢、得霍光女壻范明友家奴、說漢朝廢立與史書相符、此不足爲異也。后卽令紇問其姓名、死來幾年、何所飮食。死者曰、臣姓崔、名洪、字子涵、博陵安平人也、父名暢、母姓魏、家在城西準財里、死時年十五、今滿二十七、在地下有十二年、常似醉臥、無所食也、時復遊行、或遇飯食、如似夢中不甚辨了.

后卽遣門下錄事張秀攜詣準財里訪涵父母。果得崔暢、其妻魏氏。秀攜問暢曰、卿有兒死否。暢曰、有一息字子涵、年十五而死。秀攜曰、爲人所發、今日蘇活在華林園中、主人故遣我來相問.

暢聞驚怖。曰、實無此兒、向者謬言。秀攜還、具以實陳聞。后遣攜送涵向家。暢聞至、門前起火。手持刀、魏氏把桃枝、謂曰、汝不須來、吾非汝父、汝非吾子、急急速去、可得無殃。涵遂捨去、游於京巷、常宿寺門下。汝南王賜黃衣一具。涵性畏日、不敢仰視。又畏水火及兵刃之屬、常走於達路、疲則止。不徐行也、時人猶謂是鬼.

洛陽大市北奉終里、里內之人賣送死人之具及諸棺槨。涵謂曰作柏木棺、勿以桑木爲穢、人問其故、涵曰、吾在地下見人發鬼兵、有一鬼訴稱、是柏棺應免、主兵吏曰、爾雖柏棺、桑木爲

As late even as the T'ang dynasty we find incredible stories o revival duly recorded as historical events in the Standard Annals. "In the first year of the Kwang khi period (A.D. 885) a case of "death occurred in a family among the people of Wen-ts'üen in "Sih-cheu, and the corpse had been buried for a fortnight and more, "when a passer-by heard cries in the ground. The family dug him "out, and he revived, but after somewhat more than a year he "died" [1]. Books of that period, devoted to the marvellous, likewise continue recording instances of temporary death, especially of persons who, on reviving, gave circumstantial accounts of their adventures in the other world, and their sufferings experienced there. Such tales, of which we find a profusion also in earlier works, bear nearly all a deep Buddhist tinge. They form valuable contributions to our knowledge of the Chinese ideas on the world beyond the grave and on infernal retribution, and as such they will have to be dealt with by us afterwards. Buddhism in those ages passed through a period of vigorous expansion. Its doctrines about post-mortem rewards and punishments were propagated energetically as means of conversion. No wonder then that the resurrection of the dead, of the possibility of which nobody felt a shadow of doubt, was explored dexteriously by its propagandists as a means to prove the reality of purgatory.

Prevailing belief in the possibility of revival even long after death implies almost necessarily that the body is thought to remain uncorrupted in the interval, or, at least, in a condition good enough for the soul to re-settle in it. Besides, we cannot reasonably disconnect this idea from the numerous old and modern usages, described by us in the First Book, which tend to keep corpses in an uncorrupted state in their graves, with the manifest object of letting them remain for their souls indispensible supports, preserving and invigorating envelopes, but for which the annihilation or absorption of the souls in the universal Yang and Yin must follow unavoidably. And those usages all pointing, as they do, to a deep conviction of the nation that the souls naturally abide in

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穰、遂不免兵。京師聞此、柏木踊貴、人疑賣者貨涵發此言也. *Loh-yang kia-lan ki*, ch. III.

[1] 光啓元年隰州温泉民家有死者、既葬且半月、行人聞聲呼地下。其家發之、則復生、歲餘乃死. New Books, ch. 36, l. 22.

the graves, we cannot come to any other conclusion than that it was always deemed to be the souls that kept there the corpses uncorrupted, either by never leaving them, or by visiting them often enough to prevent decomposition from setting in. Which of these two ideas preponderates, we cannot tell, and we may, in truth, be tolerably indifferent to this question. But that the connexion between the body remaining undecayed, and the presence of the soul, really exists in the popular ideas, is more than manifest. Let us read, for instance, the following lines in the Standard Annals of the fifth century:

"When Wang Hüen-siang, a nephew of Wang Hüen-mu, held "the post of prefect of Hia-pʿei, he took a pleasure in opening "graves, so that no grave-vault in that region remained entire. "There was then somewhere among the population, in an immured "spot, a small grave, the tumulus of which was nearly flat on "the top; and every morning, at dawn, a girl was seen upon that "grave in erect attitude, but when regarded from a shorter distance, "she vanished. Somebody communicated this to Hüen-siang, who "ordered the grave to be opened. It contained a coffin, still in sound "condition, and more than a hundred gold caterpillars and brass "images of men. When they split open the coffin, they beheld a "girl of about twenty years, of beautiful form, apparently alive. "'I am a daughter of the family of the prince of Tung-hai', she "said dozingly; 'I deliver to you the treasures I possessed in "my life, but I beg for the favour not to be injured'. As she wore "a bracelet of jade, the men who had broken open the grave cut "off her arm to steal it, on which she died again. Wang Hüen-mu, "who was Governor of Sü-cheu at that time, reported the event to "the emperor, who punished Hüen-siang by dismissing him from "his post as prefect" [1].

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[1] 王玄謨從弟玄象位下邳太守、好發冢、地無完槨。人間垣內有小冢、墳上殆平、每朝日初升見一女子立冢上、近視則亡。或以告玄象、使命發之。有一棺尚全、有金蠶銅人以百數。剖棺見一女子、年可二十、姿質若生。臥而言曰、我東海王家女、應生資財相奉、幸勿見害。女臂有玉釧、破冢者斬臂取之、於是女復死。玄謨時爲徐州刺史、以事上聞、玄象坐免郡. History of the South, ch. 16, l. 15.

Of corpses preserved wonderfully in their graves, books afford numerous instances. Among these there are many that show, that only under certain conditions the souls could work such miracles, viz. if they were possessed of paramount vitality and strength, endowing their owners during their life with extraordinary energy, courage, virtue, and other faculties generally ascribed to yang souls. Such an exceptional soul was that of Liu Ngan-shi [1], an Imperial Censor of the Sung dynasty, whose reckless boldness in rebuking the emperor Cheh Tsung [2] on his throne, in the very face of all his courtiers perspiring from fear, gave him the title of the tiger of the audience-hall [3]. "When disinterred by the Kin "Tatars in 1127, two years after his death and burial, they found "his features in the same condition they were in during his life. "Terrified, they closed the coffin and took to their heels, exclaiming: "'That is a wonderful man!'" [4] Such extremely animated corpses often became objects of worship. Thus, for example, in T'ai-hu, "in the Wu region, there was in the Tung-t'ing mounts, in the "temple of the Holy Dame, a coffin of the same name. Tradition "asserted that the features of this woman, who died in those "mountains, were several centuries afterwards like those of a living "person. The people from far and near flocked to the spot to "pray to her and to thank her, and every year there was no end "to the offerings of suits of clothes, finery and face-powder" [5]. Thus the host of deified men, whose worship, side by side with that of family-ancestors, is the kernel of the Chinese Religion, has been re-inforced incessantly with contingents from amongst the non-decaying dead. We read of Lu To-sun, a high statesman who died

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[1] 劉安世. [2] 哲宗. [3] 殿上虎.

[4] 死葬後二年金人發其冢、貌如生。相驚語曰、異人也、爲之蓋棺乃去. History of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 345, l. 4.

[5] 吳郡太湖中聖姑棺在洞庭山中聖姑寺。俗傳聖姑死山中已數百年、其貌如生。遠近求賽、歲獻衣服裝粉不絕. *Pien i chi* 辨疑志, "Record of Critical Remarks on doubtful Matters" (?), a work in three chapters, stated in the Catalogue of the New Books of the T'ang Dynasty (ch. 59, l. 20) to have been written by Luh Ch'ang-yuen 陸長源. This was a high state-officer, slain and devoured towards the end of the eighth century by his own soldiers; see the Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 145, l. 8, and the New Books, ch. 151, l. 6. I do not know whether the work still exists. The above extract is quoted from the *Pei wen yun fu*, ch. 14, l. 178.

in A. D. 985: "After his death permission was granted to carry "his corpse home for burial. His son Ch'ah, director of the funeral "rites, had deposited it temporarily in a Buddhist convent in Siang-"yang, and now wishing to replace his coffin by a larger one, he "opened it, and found the corpse undecayed and unchanged, as if "it were still alive. From time to time they renewed its dress, "and in the Siang fu period (A.D. 1008—1016) it was still in "the same condition, for the man had been born on the fifth day "of the fifth month [1]. The Buddhists discovered the matter and "greatly magnified it, representing it as what nowadays they call "a Buddha of unlimited age" [2]. — "On mount Hwa (in Shensi) "there lies in the Chang-ch'ao vale under a projecting rock a "stiffened corpse, with teeth and hair in a state of perfect preser-"vation. In spring, walkers frequently pour out sacrificial spirits in the "entrance to that cave. The corpse is called the dormant immortal man, "and benevolent people have constructed a wooden couch by the spot, "dedicating it to him. In the Kia yiu period (A.D. 1056—1064) "a stone, more than ten chang square, came down, and completely "shut the entrance of that grotto. Was it detached by the immortal "man himself? Or was it the spiritual power (ling) of the mountain, "that thus protected him, not desiring him to be any longer insulted "and abused by men?" [3]

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1 The theoretical middle of the summer, when the Yang is paramount. Men born on that day necessarily have a yang soul of peculiar intensity, able to preserve their body well after death.

2 盧多遜既卒許歸葬。其子察護喪權厝襄陽佛寺、將易以巨櫬乃啟、其屍不壞、儼然如生。逐時易衣、至祥符中亦然、蓋五月五日生也。釋氏得之當又張大其事、若今之所謂無量壽佛者矣. *Hien yih* 賢奕, a work unknown to me, quoted in the TS, sect. 人事, ch. 94.

3 華嶽張超谷岩石下有僵尸、齒髮皆完。春時遊人多以酒灑口中。呼爲臥仙、好事者作木榻以薦之。嘉祐中有石方十餘丈自上而下、正塞岩口。豈未仙者所蛻、山靈護之、不欲人之褻慢耶. *Wen-ch'ang tsah luh* 文昌雜錄, a work in seven chapters on various topics, by P'ang Yuen-ying 龐元英, alias Meu-hien 懋賢, an officer in the second half of the eleventh century. We quote the extract from the TS. sect. 人事, ch. 94.

2. Resuscitation of the dead by souls of others.

If it is a commonplace thing in China, a matter of almost daily occurrence, that corpses are resuscitated by their own souls returning into them, may not then the souls of the dead just as well pass into corpses of others, and revive them?

Here, too, the answer given by the Chinese people in a number of tales and traditions, is strongly affirmative. The reader may judge for himself from the small selection we now give.

"Between the Ch'en and the Ts'ai clans, a private person, known "by the name of Chuh Ki-tsing, had been dead for more than ten "years, when a fellow-villager of his, yamed Chao Tszĕ-hwo, departed "this life, and after some days, awaking on a sudden, sprang up, "and hurried out of the door. His affrighted wife and children hastened "towards him, and asked him what he was going to do; on which "he exclaimed in a voice which was not Tszĕ-hwo's: 'I am Chuh "Ki-tsing; I do not know who you are; I am going home'. The "wife and children followed him to Ki-tsing's house, where the "inmates, thinking they had to do with a madman, drove him "away with harsh words. 'I am Chuh Ki-tsing', he cried, 'I died "eleven years ago, and now I have come home; why do you repudiate "me?' Hearing that the tone of his voice really was Ki-tsing's, they "paid more attention to the matter, and concluded that he was "really the man he said he was. His wife and children, terrified and "astonished, interrogated him further; and he told them his ad-"ventures in the following words:

"'After leaving this earth about a dozen years ago, I stayed "in the Nether-world, longing for home, to provide there for "my wife and children, from whom I could not distract my "thoughts one single day. In yonder regions, once in thirty years, "a dead man may return to life, to inform mankind of the "punishments or blessings that await them; and yesterday it was "I who asked the Recorder to nominate me for such a revival. "He informed the Governor of Hades that I was the man who "wished to live a second time. 'But', thus said the Governor to "me, 'your dwelling went to ruin long ago; how then are we to "arrange this matter?' 'Ki-tsing's fellow-villager, one Chao Tszĕ-hwo',

"said the Recorder, 'died a few days ago; I wish to lend his "corpse to Ki-tsing's soul'. The Governor assented to this arrange- "ment, and ordered a messenger to guide me to Tszé-hwo's house. "Thus I came home, and by relating now the experience I had "in that lapse of time, I hope to succeed in being listened to'. "The wife and children now believed him thoroughly, and received "him with open arms. From that time he abstained from spirits "and meat, wore short garments of coarse material, and wandered "about begging for food among the Ch'en, Ts'ai, Jü and Ching "clans; and his money and clothes he gave away to the poor and "the hungry, quite out of devotion for Buddha. He still lives to "this day" [1].

[1] 陳蔡間有民竹季貞、卒十餘年矣、後里人趙子和亦卒、數日忽寤、即起馳出門。其妻子驚前訊之、子和曰、我竹季貞也、安識汝、今將歸吾家、既而語音非子和矣。妻子遂隨之至季貞家、見子和來以爲狂疾、罵而逐之。子和曰、我竹季貞、卒十一年、今乃歸、何拒我耶。其家聆其語果季貞也、驗其事、又季貞也。妻子俱駭異請之、季貞曰。。。

我自去人世迨今且一紀、居冥途中、思還省妻孥、不一日忘。然冥間每三十年即一逝者再生、使言罪福、昨者吾所請案掾得以名。聞冥官願爲再生者。既而冥官謂我曰、汝宅舍壞久矣、如何。案掾白曰、季貞同里趙子和者卒數日、願假其屍與季貞之魂。冥官許之、即遣使送我于趙氏之舍。我故得歸、因話平昔事歷然可聽。妻子方信而納之。自是季貞不食酒肉、衣短麤衣、行乞陳蔡汝鄭間、緇帛隨以修佛施貧餓者。至今尚存. *Süen-shih chi* 宣室志, "Records of the Manifesto Apartment", a work on spirits and marvel in ten chapters, written by Chang Tuh 張讀, also named Shing-p'eng 聖朋 or Shing-yung 聖用, a high literary graduate and officer in the ninth century. The title is an allusion to a room in the palace of Wen (179—156 B.C.), where this monarch, according to the Historical Records (ch. 84, l. 14), had an interview with the learned Kia I, to be informed of sundry matters relating to spirits and ghosts. Not finding the above tale in a copy we have of the *Süen-shih chi*, we quote it from the T S. sect. 人事, ch. 98.

— "Under the Sung dynasty, there lived to the east of the "market-town of Lu-siao, in the Yuen-cheu department, a silversmith, "whose clan-name was Kwoh. Though upward of thirty years old, "he still lived by himself as a bachelor. And to the west of the "same place lived an old damsel, who, carrying on a trade, "frequently visited Kwoh, to buy or sell hairpins, rings, and other "things of this kind. One evening, her daughter, a girl of fifteen "or sixteen, fled to Kwoh. 'I want to become your wife', she said, and "seeing Kwoh startle, she went on to say: 'I have yearned for "you for a long time, but I have not had a chance till now to elope; "do not waver'. And on his asking her for further explanations, "she said: 'I died yesterday, and my mother put me in a coffin; "but I opened it, crept out, and shut it again. My mother has "thus buried an empty coffin, and no inquiry will be made after "me at all'. Kwoh now placed her in an unfrequented apartment, "and kept her there.

"Some eight months after that, the mother happened to pay "a visit to Kwoh. As he was out, she peeped into the room, "and perceived the red shoes in which she had encoffined her "daughter. She pushed open the door, seized them, and cried out "among the neighbours that Kwoh had pilfered her daughter's "grave. When Kwoh came home and the neighbours apprised him "of it, he was seized with consternation. 'My mother came so "unawares', said the girl, 'that I had to be off in the greatest "haste, and thus I forget to put away my shoes; we must now "get out of her reach, but you will never feel sorry for it'. With these "words she departed, and Kwoh fled also, going in the direction "of T'an-cheu.

"Ere he had gone some ten miles, the girl overtook him, "and together they reached T'an-cheu. Their purses were soon "empty, but, thus spoke the girl, 'I can sing, and among the "songs in the note k u n g there must be some that pay'. So "they opened a music-hall at the end of the P'ing-li ward, where "her songs brought the clouds to a stand-still, and attracted the "people in crowds as compact as walls. Every day hundreds of "notable families vied with each other in engaging her, and on "the days they made her come, they threw away to her gold "hairpins and similar things. Thus in a year they laid by many ten "thousand coins.

"One day, a Taoist with pointed coiffure, a giant of nine feet, "tapped Kwoh on the back, and said: 'Thousands and ten

"times thousands of people thus gaze at that ghost-doll!' These "words opened Kwoh's eyes. He drew the man aside, and humbly "entreated him to help him out of his dilemma. The Taoist "advised him to offer up prayers in the temple of the Eastern "Mountain. There he went to worship the deity; and in the "second watch he saw a yamen-runner garrot the girl and take "her to the back hall of the temple, where she suddenly sank "to the ground and became a corpse. Thus it became quite clear "to him it was a kwei that took possession of the corpse of the "girl. Immediately he offered a sum of money to have the temple "repaired, in order to atone in this way for the sins the girl might "have committed, and he buried her corpse with much ceremony "and many burnt-offerings. In that same night he dreamed that she "came to him to express her thankfulness, and bid him farewell, "her eyes wet with tears" [1].

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[1] 宋時袁州濾蕭市之東有銀匠、姓郭。年三十餘隻身獨處。市西有把賣嫗、常詣郭買賣釵鐲之屬。嫗女年十五六、一夕奔郭。曰、願爲君妻、郭駭之、女曰、妾慕君久矣、適得一計脫身、君無疑也。問故曰、適陽死、母殮我于棺中、妾啟棺而出、復掩之、母將空棺葬之矣、不復索我也。郭置之密室、不令出.

八月餘母偶闚郭。亡、窺其室、見女所殮紅履在焉。推戶取之、呼告鄰里曰、郭某盜開女墳。郭歸、鄰告之、故大駭。女曰、母卒至、亟避之、忘收履焉、我姑避之、君勿慮也。女去、郭遂逃、往潭州.

早行十數里女亦追至、同至潭州。久之囊竭、女曰、妾善歌、宮調當有賞音。遂開場於平里坊下、歌聲遏雲、觀者如堵。日數百券豪門爭延、致之日擲與金釵等。年餘所積累萬.

一日有髽角道人、身長九尺、撫郭背曰、千萬人觀此鬼傀儡。郭悟。挽之僻處、拜求濟度 道

In conclusion, we offer to the reader a tale from the *Liao-chai chi i* or "Marvels recorded in my private Closet", a most popular collection of 430 narratives of ghosts and spirits, mentioned already on page 148 of Book I, constantly read throughout the Empire by literary people [1]:

"A Buddhist monk in Chʿang-tsʿing (in Shantung), named So-"and-So, had reached a high and pure stage in the way to per-"fection, so that, although he was over eighty years old, he had "still a strong constitution. One day he sank to the ground. As "he did not rise, the monks of the convent ran out to help him "up; but he was dead. He remained unconscious of his death, "and his soul (h w u n) soared away towards the Honan frontiers.

"Here, at that time, there lived a nobleman of old descent. At "the head of some ten riders he was hunting for hares with tamed "falcons, when his horse stumbled; he fell to the ground, and "expired. The soul of the monk, happening to be just then on the "spot, united itself so firmly to the body of the nobleman, that it "gradually revived. The servants ran to their master to ask him "how he felt; but he gazed at them with staring eyes, and asked: "'How did I come here?' Then they helped him home. At the "gate, the women with powdered faces and eyebrows painted green, "flocked round to see him, and asked how he was. But, greatly "alarmed, he said: 'I am a Buddhist monk; why do you come "here?' The family thought that he was talking nonsense, and "conjointly grasped his ears to wake him; and the monk, unable "to explain the matter even to himself, merely closed his eyes and "could not say a word.

"They gave him rice to eat, and he took it, but spirits and

人令祝之東嶽廟。郭詣廟拜、至二更見急走枷鎖女至東嶽廟後宮、忽仆地則一死屍。乃知鬼投女屍也。遂傾資修廟以贖女罪、厚禮焚殯之。夜夢女感謝泣別而去. *I wen tsung luh* 異聞總錄, "General Description of strange Things", a work probably written under the Yuen or the Ming dynasty. I do not know at present any particulars about it. We quote the above tale from the T S, sect. 神異, ch. 22.

1 It was written in the reign of the first or second emperor of the present dynasty by P'u Sung-ling 蒲松齡, a native of Tszĕ-chʿwen 淄川, in Shantung. It has run through more editions probably than any work of this kind could ever boast of. Its reputation rests especially on the style, unparallelled in China's literature for conciseness and purity. Our tale is the sixth in the book.

" meat he refused. And at night he slept quite alone, without " accepting the services of his wife and concubines. When some " days had passed, it occurred to him to take a walk. Everybody " was glad of this; he passed through the gate, and halted a little " while; and there the servants were, rushing forth in a disorderly " mass with their cash-books and grain-accounts, entreating him, " all at once, to settle their accounts. But the nobleman roundly " excused himself because of his illness and fatigue, and asked " whether they knew the Ch'ang-ts'ing district in Shantung. They " conjointly answer they do. 'I feel so concerned about those I left " there unprotected', he goes on to say, 'I want to go and see " them; forthwith prepare my luggage'. They object with one voice " that newly recovered patients ought not travel so far; but he does " not heed their advice, and next day they set out.

" At Ch'ang-ts'ing he finds everything as it was before; so he " has not to trouble himself with asking the way. They reach " the convent. The brethren seeing so noble a visitor come, come " up with humble bows and with marks of great respect. He asks " them whether the old monk is gone. 'Our Teacher has lately " departed this life', they say. He asks where his tomb is, and they " all take him to the spot — an insulated tumulus of three feet of " earth, which the weeds have not yet had time to overgrow. None " of the monks understands what he wants there. On ordering his " men to bring out the horses to start for home, he speaks to " the monks in these terms: 'Your Teacher was a monk living in " accordance with the commandments; you must preserve carefully " the wet touches of his hands which he has left behind[1] (his " personal effects), and not let them be damaged or lost'. They all " exclaim aye, aye; and he departs.

" On coming home, he sits down motionless and as straight as " a tree, with a heart of ashes[2]. Not in the least does he care for " his domestic concerns. A few months thus pass by, and then he " leaves the house, runs away, and travels straight to his old " convent. 'I am your Teacher', he says to the brethren; but they " think he is telling stories and, looking at one another, burst " out into laughter. But as he relates to them whence the soul " came that re-animated his present body, and also what he did in " his life, they believe him, finding everything consonant with the

1 An allusion to the passage in the *Li ki*, which we gave on p. 623 of Book I.
2 A mind the fire of which is extinguished.

"facts. They let him occupy his former bed, and served him as they "used to do before. On this, the family of the nobleman frequently "came with carriages and horses, to implore him wailingly to go "with them; but he did not even deign to look at them. And "when, after more than a year, his consort despatched her servants "with multifarious presents, he refused to take any metal or silk, "accepting nothing but a linen gown. Sometimes his friends visited "his residence to pay him their respects; but as soon as he saw "them he sank into silence and earnest devotion. He was then just "thirty years old [1], but he could tell of things that had occurred "more than eighty years before" [2].

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1 Lit. in the years in which he stood firm. Confucius said: "At thirty I stood firm" 三十而立; *Lun yü*, ch. II.

2 長清僧某道行高潔、年八十餘猶健。一日顓仆。不起、寺僧奔救、已圓寂矣。僧不自知死、魂飄去至河南界.

河南有故紳子。率十餘騎按鷹獵兎、馬逸、墮斃。魂適相值、翕然而合、遂漸蘇。厮僕還問之、張目曰、胡至此。衆扶歸。入門則粉白黛綠者紛集顧問。大駭曰、我僧也、胡至此。家人以爲妄、共提耳悟之、僧亦不自申解、但閉目、不復有言.

餉以脫粟則食、酒肉則拒。夜獨宿、不受妻妾奉。數日後忽思少步。衆皆喜、既出少定卽有諸僕紛來錢簿穀籍、雜請會計。公子託以病倦悉謝絶之、惟問山東長清縣知之否。共答知之。曰、我鬱無聊賴、欲往遊矚、宜卽治任。衆謂新瘳未應遠涉、不聽、翼日遂發.

抵長清視風物如昨、無煩問途。竟至蘭若。弟子見貴客至、伏謁甚恭。乃問老僧焉往。答云、吾師曩已物化。問墓所、羣導以往、則三尺孤墳、荒草猶未合也。衆僧不知何意。既而戒馬欲歸、囑曰、汝師戒行之僧、所遺手澤宜恪守、勿俾損壞。衆唯唯、乃行.

既歸灰心木立。了不勾當家務。居數月出門、

The above three tales contain no intimation that corpses, by receiving another soul, are modified in outward appearance. There are, however, narratives which state positively that an entire change in the corpse takes place in consequence of that process, its new forms being, of course, that of the body which the second soul occupied before. To give an instance:

"When Wang Yen-t'ing was prefect of the Ling-pih district (in "north-eastern Nganhwui), there lived in a village a farmer's wife, "born of the clan of Li. She was more than thirty years old, and "not only ugly and blind, but having suffered from dropsy for more "than ten years, she had a belly like a sow. One day she died. "Her husband went to the city to buy a coffin for her, but when "it arrived, and they were going to place her in it, she revived. "Her eyesight was perfectly clear; her abdomen had become "quite flat, and her husband, enjoying the metamorphosis, ap- "proached her. But she repelled him boldly, and said, her eyes "wet with tears: 'I am miss Wang of the village So-and-So; my "marriage has not yet been consummated; how then is it that I "find myself here? Where are my parents, and my sisters?' The "goodman's joy now turned into terror. Forthwith he sent the "news to that village, where they found the whole family in mourning "for their youngest daughter, whose corpse they had committed to "the earth. In crazy haste her parents ran to the house where "she was, and no sooner did she catch a glimpse of them than "she burst into tears and rushed into their arms. She entered with "them into conversation on the events of her life; and whatever "she said agreed perfectly with the facts. The family into which "she was going to be married, also came to see her; on "which a blush of bashfulness and timidity coloured her cheeks. "Now the two families began to quarrel for her, and brought the "matter before the authorities. Wang Yen-t'ing reconciled them

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自遁、直抵舊寺。謂弟子、我卽汝師、衆疑其謬、相視而笑。乃述返魂之由又言生平所爲、悉符、衆乃信。居以故榻、事之如平日。後公子家屢以輿馬來哀請之、畧不顧瞻。又年餘夫人遣紀綱至、多所饋遺、金帛皆卻之、惟受布袍一襲而已。友人或至其鄉敬造之、見其人默然誠篤。年僅而立而輒道其八十餘年事.

"by deciding that she should return to her own village. This "case occurred in the 21rst. year of the Khien lung period "(A.D. 1756)" [1].

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[1] 王硯庭知靈璧縣事、村中有農婦李氏。年三十許、貌醜而瞽、病臌脹十餘年腹大如豕。一夕卒。夫入城買棺、棺到將殮、婦已生矣。雙目盡明、腹亦平復、夫喜近之。婦堅拒泣曰、吾某村中王姑娘也、尚未婚嫁、何爲至此、吾之父母姊妹俱在何處。其夫大駭。急告某村、則舉家哭其幼女、屍已埋矣。其父母狂奔而至、婦一見泣抱。歷叙生平事、皆符合。其未婚之家亦來眈視、婦猶羞澀赤見于面。遂兩家爭此婦鳴於官。硯庭爲之作合、斷歸村農。乾隆二十一年事. *Tszĕ puh yŭ*, ch. I.

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE RE-INCARNATION OF SOULS THROUGH BIRTH.

The reader now knows that, according to Chinese views, a departed human soul may pass into the body of an other deceased person, and thus resuscitate it. Side by side with this conception the belief prevails, that any excarnated soul may obtain a new body by being reborn through a mother. This process is generally known by the term t'eu t'ai [1], "to make one's way into a uterus".

It needs no saying that this belief opens a vast field for myth-making ingenuity. The large number of tales it has produced are not, however, looked upon as mere stories. Being transmitted by the venerated art of writing, they are taken for genuine events, as almost all tales are, on any subject whatever. Possibly, pains-taking research may discover traces of the belief in such re-incarnations in very early writings; we, however, have not found any reference to it before the age in which the Tsin dynasty reigned. A learned man of that epoch, "Pao Tsing by name, when "five years old, said to his parents that he had been the child of "a certain Li family in Khüh-yang, and that he had perished "there in a well at the age of nine. His parents then searched "for that family, and discovering it, their inquiries confirmed the "matter" [2]. And of the martial Yang Hu, from whose biography we extracted an interesting episode on page 1005 of Book I, we read: "When he was five years old, he asked his nurse to give him a "metal ring he used to play with. The woman said: 'You never "had one', on which words Hu forthwith went to the mulberry "trees at the eastern wall of his neighbour Li, and there pulled "out a ring. 'This ring was lost by my dead child', exclaimed the "owner of the tree in great fright; 'I say, why do you take it away?'

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[1] 投胎.

[2] 鮑靚年五歲語父母云、本是曲陽李家兒、九歲墜井死。其父母尋訪得李氏、推問皆符驗. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 95, l. 16.

"The nurse informed him of what had preceded, and her words "cast deep sorrow into Li's hart. People at that time were greatly "astonished at the event, and maintained that Li's son was a "previous existence of Hu" [1].

Thus, as we learn from these tales, people reborn by the intervention of a second mother may have clear reminiscences of their former existence. In a great many narratives on this subject it is, indeed, revelations of the individual himself about his previous life, or about things he concealed in it, which led to the discovery of that life not being a product of his fancy. There are also cases recorded of previous lives detected by certain spots or marks on the body. So, "in the district of Fu-yang, in Siang-cheu, there was "a Buddhist monk, Yuen-kao by name, who lived in the Chi-leh "monastery, and whose lay-surname was Chao. The son of his "elder brother had a previous existence as a child of the Ma family, "which lived with him in the same village. This child died in the "last year of the Ching kwan period (A.D. 649). When on the "point of breathing its last, it looked around, and said to its mother: "'I, your child, have connections with Chao Tsung's family; "I shall become his grandson after my death'. That Chao Tsung "lived with them in the same village. The mother, discrediting "the words she had heard, made a black spot on the child's right "elbow. And the wife of Chao dreamed of that child coming "to her with the words: 'I must become your descendant'; on "which she became pregnant. Her vision closely resembled that "son of the Ma family, and on her giving birth to him, the black "spot was found on his body in the same place. When three "years old, he went to the house of Ma, without anybody showing "him the way thither; and there he declared that it was his "former dwelling" [2].

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[1] 祜年五歲時令乳母取所弄金鐶。乳母曰、汝先無此物、祜卽詣鄰人李氏東垣桑樹中探得之。主人驚曰、此吾亡兒所失物也云、何持去。乳母具言之、李氏悲愧。時人異之、謂李氏子則祜之前身也. The same work, ch. 34, l. 12.

[2] 相州滏陽縣智力寺僧元高、俗姓趙氏。其兄子先身於同村馬家爲兒。至貞觀末死。臨死之際顧謂母曰、兒於趙宗家有宿因緣、死後當與

This tale reveals an animistic notion worthy of our attention: — in cases of re-birth there exists a relation between the new body and the old. Or, perhaps, we may put it thus, that the characteristics of the first body imprint themselves on the soul, and that the soul in its turn impresses them on its second material envelope. Of course there are also tales relating that the first existence was discovered from natural peculiarities possessed by the two bodies in common; but we think we may pass them over in silence. Another belief, revealed also by the last tale, may interest us, namely, that an individual who will be reborn after his death, may foreknow this himself, and point out his future family. Nay, the tales go further, teaching that man may die on purpose, in order to gain another existence ensuring him better earthly conditions.

"Wang Lien, also named Yuen-ming, was a Lang-yé man. "Under the (first) Sung dynasty he was a Court-Chamberlain. His "father, named Min and styled Ki-yen, was Chief of the Inner "Court Archives of the House of Tsin. Among his acquaintances, "the latter had a foreign Çramana, who, whenever he thought "of the magnitude of Min's fame and influence, was filled with "so much respect and admiration, that he said to his fellow-"students: 'If I may become the son of that man in my next "existence, my wishes of this life are fulfilled'. Min heard of it; — "'Well, Dharma Master', he said jokingly, 'so correct are your "talents and your conduct that I assent to your becoming my "disciple'. On this, the Çramana sickened and died, and somewhat "more than a year after his death Lien was born. No sooner could "he speak than he understood foreign languages; he gave the names "of all curiosities and things of value in the whole realm, and of "bronze objects, pearls and cowries he had never seen or heard of; "and he could tell also from where they came. And he showed a "natural affection for the western foreigners who came to China. As "everybody regarded that Çramana as his former existence, Min

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宗爲孫。宗卽與其同村也。其母弗信、乃以墨點兒右肘。趙家妻又夢此兒來云、當與孃爲息、因而有娠。夢中所見宛然馬家之子、產訖驗其黑子還在舊處。及兒年三歲、無人導引乃自向馬家、云此是兒舊舍也. *Fah yuen chu lin; ap.* K K, ch. 387.

"gave him the cognomen of O-lien (the Selected?), which became "his proper name" [1].

The fancy of sorrowing mothers, musing of their departed darlings while transposing their affections on later-born ones, has furnished its due contingent to the tales of second incarnations. We read, in fact, of many children who died, and returned to their families by being reborn in their own mothers' wombs. Thus, Hiang Tsing, "also known by his cognomen of Fung-jen, a native of Ho-nei, "had, while a resident of the Wu-hing region, a daughter, who "died when a few years old. At the beginning of her illness "she played with a knife, and when her mother tried to take "it away from her, she would not give it, and wounded her "mother's hand. One year after her death, her mother gave birth "to another daughter. This girl, when at the age of four, spoke to "her: 'Where is the knife I had?' — 'You had none', was the "reply; on which the girl retorted: 'We quarrelled over it at the "time, and I wounded your hand with it; is it here no more?' Very "frightened and astonished, the mother related the case to Tsing, "who asked her: 'Is that knife still here?' — 'It was a doleful "reminiscence of my late child; I have not destroyed it', was the "reply. 'Fetch it with some other knives', said Tsing, 'and lay "them out together, and let the girl find hers out from the number'. "The girl looked at the knives and, delighted, immediately picked "out her own" [2].

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[1] 王練、字玄明、琅琊人也。宋侍中。父珉、字季琰、晉中書令。相識有一胡沙門、每瞻珉風采甚敬悅之、輒語同學云、若我後生得爲此人作子、於近願亦足矣。珉聞而戲之曰、法師才行正、可爲弟子耳。頃之沙門病亡、亡後歲餘而練生焉。始能言便解外國語、及絶國奇珍銅器珠貝、生所不見、未聞其名、卽而名之、識其產出。又自然親愛諸胡過於漢。人咸謂沙門審其先身、故珉字之曰阿練。遂爲大名云. *Ming siang ki* 冥祥記, "Description of the Felicities in the World of Darkness". A book with this title, in ten chapters, is mentioned in the Catalogue of books in the Books of the Sui Dynasty (ch. 33 l. 20), with the name of Wang Yen 王琰 for its author. I do not knowwhether it still exists. The above extract is quoted from the KK, ch. 387.

[2] 向靖、字奉仁、河內人也、在吳興郡有一女、

Re-birth may be connected with change of sex. Whether this means that the sex of the soul is changeable, or that souls are sexless, the reader must make out himself; we do not know whether the Chinese have settled this point. "Under the emperor "Suh Tsung (A.D. 756—763), one Ching Tai was Governor of "Jun-cheu. His brother Khan, older than he, had a wife, whose "clan-name was Chang, and a daughter of sixteen, named Ts'ai- "niang, a decent and prudent maid of perfect conduct. In the "seventh night of the seventh month the latter set out incense and "eatables, and prayed to the Weaving-Girl (the goddess of Lyra, the "patroness of female industry); and she dreamed that night that this "deity's train of cloudy cars and feathery canopies darkened the sky. "Her carriage halted, and she spoke: 'I am the Weaving-Girl; what "blessings do you invoke?' 'I pray for dexterity in my work', was "the answer. On this, the goddess gave her a gold needle, over one "ts'un in length, stuck on a sheet of paper, to put into the girdle "of her skirt; if she kept her adventure secret for three days, she "would acquire admirable dexterity, and if she did not hold her "tongue so long, she would change her sex for that of a boy. "Already on the second day she told her mother what had happened. "Astonished, this woman looked at the needle, but she saw nothing "than an empty paper with the pricks of the needle in it.

"All the daughters Mrs. Chang had given birth to, had died. "Now Ts'ai-niang too fell ill, and at the same time the mother "became pregnant. 'My five children have all died', thus she "lamented with bitterness, 'what is the good then of being pregnant "again? I will take abortive drugs'. The drugs came, and she was "on the point of swallowing them, when Ts'ai-niang's voice sud- "denly cried from the dark corner where she lay: 'murderess!' Her "mother, affrighted, asked her what the matter was. 'My body is "dying', she answered, 'and I must become a boy, the same you

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數歲而亡。女始病時弄小刀子、母奪取不與、傷母手。喪後一年母又產一女。女年四歲謂母曰、前時刀子何在。母曰、無也、女曰、昔爭刀子、故傷母手云、何無耶。母甚驚怪、具以告靖、靖曰、先刀子猶在不。母曰、痛念前女、故不錄之。靖曰、可更取數箇刀子合置一處、令女自識。女見大喜卽取先者. *Ming siang ki*; K K, ch. 387.

"are now pregnant with. I heard that the drugs had come, and "thus, the danger being imminent, I uttered the cries you heard'. "The astonished mother did not take the drugs, and in a short "time Ts^{c}ai-niang expired.

"After the burial, the mother, whose sorrowful thoughts did not "turn away from the child, collected the things the latter was "wont to play with, and put them away. Before the usual months "of pregnancy had elapsed, she gave birth to a son. Whenever any "one touched the concealed playthings, this child began to cry, "and it wailed also whenever the mother bemoaned her daughter, "not stopping until the mother stopped. And when he could speak, "he always wanted to have the toys. Being a second existence of "Ts^{c}ai-niang, they gave him the name of the nephew-son. In the "service of the State he worked himself up to the rank of Registrar "at the Pillars" [1], that is to say, a Minister charged with recording

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[1] 鄭代肅宗時爲潤州刺史。兄侃嫂張氏女年十六、名采娘、淑愼有儀。七夕夜陳香筵、祈於織女、是夕夢雲輿羽蓋蔽空。駐車、命采娘曰、吾織女、汝祈何福。曰、願丐巧耳。乃遺一金針、長寸餘、綴於紙上、置裙帶中、令三日勿語汝當奇巧、不爾化成男子。經二日以告其母。母異而視之、則空紙矣、其針迹猶在。

張數女皆卒。采娘亦病、其母忽有娠。乃恨言曰、男女五人皆卒、復懷何爲、將服藥以損之。藥至將服、采娘昏奄之內忽稱殺人。母驚而問之。曰、某之身終、當爲男子、母之所懷是也、聞藥至、情急、是以呼之。母異之乃不服藥、采娘尋卒.

既葬母悲念、乃收常所戲之物而匿之。未逾月遂生一男子。有動所匿之物、兒卽啼哭、張氏哭女、孩兒亦啼哭、罷卽止。及能言常收戲弄之物。乃采娘後身也因名曰叔子。後位至柱史. *Kwei-yuen ts^{c}ung t'an* 桂苑叢談, "Collected Conversations of the Cassia Park", a little work in one chapter, on spectres and ghosts, historical matters and miscellanies. It is mentioned in the Catalogue in the New Books of the T^{c}ang Dynasty (ch. 59, l. 20) as written by some one called Fung-yih-tszĕ 馮翊子 or Tszĕ-hiu 子休, whose family-name is thought to have been Yen 嚴.

in the Imperial presence all wrong and faulty acts to be witnessed there.

Another book relates:

"In Hung-cheu, the learned doctor of medicine Ma Szĕ-tao became "dangerously ill. Suddenly he exclaimed, sobbing and sighing: "'I have done nothing bad in my life; why then am I to become "a woman? I am given for re-birth to the wife of Chu, in the "T'iao-tszĕ ward'. His son, wishing to try the truth of what he "said, sought for that man; and his wife was indeed with child. "When Szĕ-tao died, Mrs. Chu gave birth to a child, which was "a girl" [1].

These tales shed some light on the question we touched upon on page 62, at what time of his life the soul of a man is believed in China to be implanted in him: — they teach us that this occurs decidedly previous to his birth. Moreover, they show that the soul may be transposed from a person into some foetus little by little, for, indeed, they relate that the bodies in which the souls lived first, sickened and languished for a time before dying, thus having a slow death by gradual loss of soul-substance. Re-births may thus be *causations* of slow or sudden deaths. Whenever an individual is to be born, another may weaken or sicken in consequence of decrease of his soul-substance, and ultimately die. These ideas come out clearly in the following tale:

"Chang Khoh-khin, while a candidate for one of the literary "degrees for Classics, takes a concubine. But for all his love and "affection, she remains childless. His family was long accustomed "to sacrifice to the God of Mount Hwa, and their prayers to this "divinity were often answered. So Khoh-khin's mother now also "prays him to grant her son a son; on which one is born to him. "They name him Tsui-lin, and a very intelligent boy he is.

"Five years pass away, and Khoh-khin, having gained his degree, "marries a house-wife. She, too, remains childless for the first year.

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[1] 洪州醫博士馬思道病篤。忽自歎曰、我平生不曾爲惡、何故乃爲女子、今在條子坊朱氏婦所託生矣。其子試尋之、其家婦果娠。及思道卒而朱氏生、實女子也. *Ki shen luh* 稽神錄, "Record of Inquiries about Spirits", in six chapters, written by Sü Hüen 徐鉉, also named Ting-ch'en 鼎臣, a high officer in the first half of the tenth century. Quoted from the K K, ch. 388.

"Again the mother prays, and the result is that the wife gives birth "to a son. But in the meantime Tsui-lin has lost flesh and vigour daily. "Then the matron invokes the god again for help; and that same "night she sees a man, holding a document with gilt characters "and a red seal affixed to it. 'Children have been alloted to you', "said he; 'it is I who brought the first child, but they caused the "wife also to have a son, and thus the first one had necessarily to "become incomplete. My influence is impotent against it'. Then "he thanks her for the sacrifices she has offered him, and passes on.

"And Tsui-lin dies. They mark his right upper arm with "red, and over his eyebrows they make a black mark, and thus "they bury him. Next year Khoh-khin is invested with the dignity "of prefect of Kia-ming in Li-cheu. There he serves his time, and "then settles in that part. Once he sees in the house of a certain "Wei Fu, a secretary in military service, a girl approach him "with polite curtesies. It strikes him how closely she resembles "Tsui-lin. He goes home, and informs his mother of it. She has "the girl fetched to see her, and forthwith the latter, exhilarated, "says to her kinsfolk: 'These people here are my family'. Then "they look for the painted marks, and find them all just as they "have been made. The family of the girl send their men to fetch "her back; but the affection she has taken to her former kinsmen "is so intense that she cannot forbear to leave them" [1].

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[1] 張克勤者應明經舉、置一妾。頗愛之而無子。其家世祝華嶽神、禱請頗有驗。克勤母乃禱神求子、果生一男。名最憐、甚慧黠。

後五年克勤登第娶妻。經年妻亦無子。母亦禱祈之、婦產一子。而最憐日羸弱。更禱神求祐、是夕母見一人、紫綬金章。謂母曰、郎君分小子、前子及我所致耳、令婦復生子、前子必不全矣、非我之力所能救也。但謝其祭享而去。

後最憐果卒。乃以朱塗右膊、黛記眉上、埋之。明年克勤爲利州葭萌令。罷任居利州。至錄事參軍韋副家見一女至前再拜。克勤視之頗類最憐。歸告其母。母取視之、女便欣然謂家人曰、彼我家也。及至驗其塗記、宛然具在。其家使人取女、猶眷眷不忍去焉. *Kwang i ki*; K K, ch. 388.

There are instances of re-incarnation of souls having enabled men to bury their own corpse. So, "one Wang Yang-ming made "a trip to a Buddhist convent, and perceived a cell, locked and "sealed very securely. He wanted to open and see it, but the "monks would not allow him, saying that there was a monk in "it in a state of quietism, who had closed the door more than "fifty years ago. Yang-ming nevertheless opened it, and looking "round, saw a monk seated in a tabernacle. He looked just as it "he were alive, and most closely he resembled him, Yang-ming, "both in shape and features. 'Is not this my own former body?' he "exclaimed. Then his eyes fell on a verse, written on the wall:

"Wang Sheu-jen, the man of fifty years ago,
"Who now opens this door, is the same who closed it.
"His soul bumps in the door, and comes back,
"To believe for the first time in his life that a Dhyanist's body "does not decay.

"'This certainly is my former body', exclaimed the Master. "After a good while of exhilaration, he erected a pagoda to bury "it under, and departed"[1].

The ideas of transition of souls from one individual into another, as depicted by a series of tales a small selection of which the reader has now before him, show a remarkable deviation from older philosophical conceptions regarding birth and death. Souls, thus the ancients taught, are implanted in men by the Universe itself, and taken back by the Universe at their death; — in the epoch of the Tsin dynasty, however, tales crop up which represent souls as transplanted from dying men into children in the womb. Buddhism here shows its influence. In the age of Tsin, this exotic religion had just gained firm footing on China, having made its way into

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[1] 王陽明嘗遊僧寺、見一室、銷封甚密。欲開視之、寺僧不可、云中有入定僧閉門五十年矣。陽明固開視之、見龕中坐一僧。儼然如生、其象貌酷肖陽明。先生曰、此豈吾之前身乎。既而見壁間一詩云、

五十年前王守仁　精靈剎戶還歸復
開門原是閉門人　始信禪門不壞身。

先生曰、此固吾之前身也。悵然久之、建塔以葬而去. TS, sect. 人事, ch. 100.

it under the Han dynasty. Its doctrines on re-incarnation of souls into beings of an order higher or lower, according to their merits or demerits, had, no doubt, then imbued the popular mind sufficiently to work the change in question. Yet it is not impossible, nor even improbable, that ideas about direct transposition of souls from one individual into another prevailed in China in pre-Buddhistic times. I have not, however, found proofs for it in literary relics. Be this as it may, it remains at any rate worth notice, that among the tales on the subject, those in which the persons reborn are Buddhist monks, are conspicuously great. Still clearer is the Buddhist underground seen in the fact, that re-birth is represented very often as taking place by the will and order of the infernal powers, which are a foreign invention, imported by Buddhism.

Let us give one instance more of this phenomenon from a book of the eighth century. "Ku Hwang lost his only son, seventeen "years old. The boy's soul hovered about, dull and drowsy, as if "in a dreaming condition, without leaving the house. Ku's sorrow "did not subside. He made a verse, and hummed it in his lamen- "tations: 'The old man has lost his son; still in the evening "of his days he has to weep blood; but the old man is now "seventy; he will not have to wait long for his departure from "life'. The son, thus hearing him, was deeply moved. He swore a "solemn oath, and spoke on a sudden, with a human voice: 'I "shall become anew a son in the house of Ku'. Next day it seemed "to him as if a man seized him, taking him to a district official "in some place or other, who decided that he should be given for "re-birth to the Ku family. He then became perfectly insensible, "and subsequently felt his mind awake. Opening his eyes, he "recognized his dwelling, his brothers, his other relations, "thronging around him; but he could not mention anything of "his previous life, and still later on he seemed to have no recol- "lection of it. At the age of seven, however, when his elder brother "jokingly gave him a slap, he exclaimed: 'I am your elder brother; "what do you beat me for?' thus throwing the whole family into "consternation and astonishment. He then related all about his "former life, point by point, without any mistake" [1].

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[1] 顧況喪一子、年十七。其子魂遊恍惚如夢、不離其家。顧悲傷不已。因作詩吟之且哭、詩云、老人喪其子、日暮泣成血、老人年七十、不作多時

In the Buddhist system, souls of men may be re-incarnated also as beasts, as a punishment for their demerits in life, while, reversely, souls of animals may pass into men as a reward for their virtuous life and conduct. This explains why we find tales of men bearing with them reminiscences of a previous animal life. Such, for example, was the case with "a house-slave of Sun Mien, Governor of "the Khüh-wuh district. Till his sixth year he could not speak "intelligibly; but when Mien's mother on a certain occasion "descended the steps of the house, and sat down, he suddenly fixed "his eyes intently upon her. Astonished, she asked him what the "matter was; on which he smiled, and said: 'Mistress, when you "still wore hairtufts (*i. e.* when a young girl), you had a yellow "petticoat on, and a white and red robe, and you kept then a "wild fox; do you remember?' The mother had not forgotten it. "'That fox', the slave went on to relate, 'was my body. I ran "away, and concealed myself in a brick sewer. On hearing you cry "and whine, I stole into the eastern fields under cover of night, "and there buried myself in an old grave. In this shelter I lived "for two years, when a huntsman beat the life out of me. Then, "as is the rule, I saw Yama (the Buddhist lord of the Nether-"world), who said: 'You are sinless; take a human body'; and I "was re-born as the son of a beggar in Hai-cheu. In this capacity "I suffered misery, hunger and cold my whole life long, and I "died at twenty. Again I appeared before the same king. 'I will "let you be the house-slave of a notable man', he said; 'the name "of slave is, in truth, not so nice, but you will not have to labour "under sorrow and cares'. Thus I came here. A third existence I "am now passing through, while you are still in your first. I feel "no sorrow, and I am happy; is not it strange?" [1]

別。其子聽之感慟。因自誓、忽若作人言、當再爲顧家子。經日如被人執、至一處若縣吏者、斷令託生顧家。復都無所知、忽覺心醒。開目認其屋宇兄弟親滿側、在語不得當其生也、已後又不記。年至七歲其兄戲批之、忽曰、我是爾兄、何故批我、一家驚異。方敘前生事歷歷不悞. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 13.

[1] 曲沃縣尉孫緬家奴年六歲未嘗解語、後緬母臨階坐、奴忽瞪視。母怪問之、奴便笑云、娘子

Man's soul being the bearer of his mental capacities and, accordingly, of his ingenuity, briskness and wit, we find sages and celebrities often put down in the books as re-incarnations of former men of talent. Quite a list of names we might here give, could it shed any light on our subject. Even at the present day it may strike any one in China having intercourse with the literati, to hear them so often coax fellow-scholars by calling them by the names of literary celebrities of former ages. No doubt this insipid custom implies more than insipid cajolery.

In finishing this chapter, we may not pass silently over the belief, that it is by no means necessary for a child which is a re-incarnation of somebody, to receive the latter's soul at its very birth, or while in the womb. It may remain destitute of that soul for years, but it has to live for the time being in bad health, or in an unsound state of mind. "In T'ung-cheu", thus runs a tale, "there was one Wang Kü-shi, versed in Taoist arts. The "Governor of Hwui-ch'ang, Ching Kiün, had a young daughter, "of whom he was very fond. From her childhood she had "often been unwell, as if her shen-hwun were incomplete. "Thus he consulted that man, who said: 'She is not ill, but no "life-producing hwun has settled as yet in her body'. Ching asked "him to explain himself better. 'So-and-So', thus was the answer, "'prefect of the district So-and-So, is the body preceding that of "your girl. This man had to die several years ago; but he was "doing so much good in this life that the Nether-world intervened "on his behalf, so that the day of his death was postponed. He is "now over ninety years old; when he dies, the girl shall regain "her health on the same day'. Ching quickly despatched a man to

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揔角之時曾着黃裙白緋襦、養一野狸、今猶憶否。母亦省之。奴云、爾時野狸卽奴身是也、得走、後伏瓦溝中。聞娘子哭泣聲、至暮乃下入東園、園有古塚、埋於此中。藏活積二年、後爲獵人擊殪。因隨例見閻羅王、王曰、汝更無罪、當得人身、遂生海州爲乞人作子。一生之中常苦飢寒、年至二十而死。又見王。王云、與汝作貴人家奴、奴名雖不佳、然殊無憂懼。遂得至此。今奴已三生、娘子故在。猶無恙有福、不其異乎.

Kwang i ki; K K, ch. 388.

"the place mentioned, to obtain information there, and he found "indeed that the prefect was more than ninety. Next month the "daughter suddenly had a sensation as if awaking from a state of "inebriety; and her illness was all over. Ching Kiün then sent "the man again for information; and indeed, without any previous "illness, the prefect had died on the very day on which the girl "was restored to health" [1].

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[1] 通州有王居士者、有道術。會昌中刺史鄭君有幼女、甚念之。而自幼多疾若神魂不足者。鄭君因請居士、居士曰、此女非疾、乃生魂未歸其身。鄭君訊其事。居士曰、某縣令某者卽此女前身也、當死數歲矣、以平生爲善以幽冥祐之得過期、今年九十餘矣、令歿之日此女當愈。鄭君急發人馳訪之、其令果九十餘矣。後月其女忽若醉寤、疾愈。鄭君又使往驗、令果以女疾愈之日無疾卒. *Süen-shih chi.*

CHAPTER X.

ON ZOANTHROPY.

The conviction that the ethereal human double is able to pass into other human bodies, and thus may impart to them its properties and character, co-exists in China with a belief, occupying a much more prominent place in her animistic lore, namely that it may settle just as well in animals. Men may thus be transformed into quadrupeds, birds, fishes and insects, or animals into men, both before and after their death.

Still, the writings, great in number, which relate such metamorphoses, seldom mention the soul as having an actual part in the change. There are even many which contain unmistakable evidence in themselves, that their authors conceived the transformations to be purely corporal. But, of course, these facts by no means prove that the transposition of souls was foreign from the genesis and first growth of the belief in such metamorphoses; and the possibility remains that the belief in bodily transformations, quite independent from souls, arose in a later period.

The question whether the belief in changes of men into beasts, and in anthropomorphosis of animals, *originated* in China from animistic conceptions, we must dismiss as still insolvable. For there can be no doubt that it was born in the darkest night of time, in ages so far back from the invention of writing, that no positive evidence concerning its birth can have been possibly left. Zoanthropy is, in fact, well known to form a topic of the thoughts of tribes in the lowest stages of culture in several parts of the globe. But whatever may have been the original form of the belief in such changes, a fact it is that, throughout Chinese thought and culture, as they are imprinted on their written products, the soul comes to the foreground very frequently as the spring of them, as their actual working-power. Thus we cannot help giving close attention to the subject in these chapters, devoted, as they are, to Chinese psychology and animism in all its aspects.

Chinese philosophy has never occupied itself seriously with the matter. Quite satisfied with its all-explaining theory of the migration of souls in the Universe, which we reviewed in the First Chapter, it has simply referred to the popular ideas on zoanthropy as plain matters of fact, at best seasoning them here and there with some sauce of its own concoction. But we may admit unreservedly, that its doctrine that the Universe is one compound of an infinite number of kwei and shen, continuously effused into men and animals equally, has always much helped to uphold the belief in a transition of souls from men into beasts and from beasts into men, as that doctrine, on account if its being a production of the mind of the infallible ancients, never lacked absolute authority.

Philosophers not having systematically discussed the subject, we had, as in the foregoing chapters, to glean our materials for a treatment of it almost exclusively from tales distributed in great numbers over various works on myth and miscellaneous themes. This was a labour of patience, requiring much reading and loss of time. But it recommends itself unconditionally, as a way to make the Chinese of all ages speak for themselves, safeguarding against observing their thoughts and mind through spectacles darkened or coloured by pre-conceived ideas and opinions of our own. The tales and legends, a number of which we were thus enabled to gather for our readers, constitute a rich mine of knowledge of oriental animal-lore. They show that, while Europe has only known were-wolves and a very few other were-animals, Eastern Asia has had throughout all times were-beasts of every sort, even insects and vermin changing into men. Chinese written sources thus afford a broader view of the subject than our own traditions on zoological myth can possibly do. They prove that were-animals appear in China in much the same aspect as they did amongst us. Last, but not least, they allow us many an unhampered peep through more than one side of the stupendous structure of China's superstition, and the low state of her mental culture.

The belief in changes of men into animals and of animals into men cannot be doubted to have been always furthered greatly by the observation that animals behave, think and understand as men do; that they show much the same passions and feelings as men; that they have analogous wants of life, suffer similar ailments and infirmities, and are subject to the same laws of decay and death. Chinese authors have roundly avowed themselves altogether unable to discover any real difference between men and animals.

"In what", thus asked in the tenth century the Taoist T'an Ts'iao [1], "do birds and quadrupeds differ from men? They all have their mode of "dwelling in nests or caves (comp. B. I, p. 372), their copulation of "males with females, their affections between father and son, their "death and their life. The crow proves that it has humanity, for "it disgorges its food to feed its young. The falcon displays right-"eousness by sparing pregnant animals. Wasps and bees have their "princes and, consequently, they possess forms of decorum. The goat "manifests wisdom by kneeling down while sucking. The pheasant "has trustworthiness, for it takes no second female. In whatever "sense we investigate their habits, we find that among the ten "thousand species of living beings not one of the five Constant "Virtues is missing, nor any of the hundred rules of conduct. They "give instruction to each other in making nets and snares, and they "make their young apply themselves to hunting and fishing".... [2]. In short, what wonder in the eyes of man thoroughly uninstructed in sound science of nature, can there be in the transmutation of a beast into a man, or of a man into a beast, by simple change of soul, or even without such a change?

Admitting that the belief in the possibility of such metamorphoses must date from the oldest times, we may reasonably expect China's ancient works to contain instances of them. In fact, among the oldest Chinese traditions we possess, there is one, according to which the soul of Kwun, Yao's Minister, disgraced for having drained off the inundating waters in an incorrect manner (see Book I, p. 956), changed into a beast. Tszĕ-ch'an [3], thus the *Tso ch'wen* relates, having travelled in 534 B.C. as an envoy from the kingdom of Ching [4] to that of Tsin [5], there found the Ruler ill, who, thus he

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1 譚峭, also named King-shing 景升.

2 夫禽獸之於人也何異。有巢穴之居、有夫婦之配、有父子之性、有死生之情。烏反哺、仁也。雉憫胎、義也。蜂有君、禮也。羊跪乳、知也。雉不再接、信也。孰究其道、萬物之中五常百行無所不有。而教之爲網罟、使之務畋漁. *Hwa shu* 化書, or Book on Changes, in six sections, discoursing in a Taoistic way respectively on change by the Tao, 道化, by arts, 術化, by virtue, 德化, by benevolence, 仁化, by food, 食化 and by frugality or abstinence, 儉化.

3 子產. 4 鄭. 5 晉.

was told, had seen in his dreams a yellow bear enter his chamber. They also asked him what sort of evil spectre that might be, and he said: "Anciently, when Yao had imprisoned Kwun for life on "mount Yü, his shen changed into a yellow bear, and under this "form entered into the abyss of Yü" [1]. The same work relates also, that when Hwan [2], the Ruler of Lu [3], visited the adjacent state of Ts'i [4] in 693 before our era, he was slain there by P'eng-sheng, a member of the royal family; on which those of this kingdom put that man to death, to give satisfaction to Lu [5]. After that, Siang [6], "the Ruler of Ts'i, made an excursion to Ku-fen "and was hunting there at P'ei-khiu, when a large boar appeared. "'It is prince P'eng-sheng', cried his attendants. The Ruler flew "into a passion. 'Does he presume to show himself?' he exclaimed, "and shot at the beast, on which it reared itself up like a man, "howling so tremendously that the frightened Ruler fell down "from his carriage, wounded his foot, and lost his shoe. On coming "home, he told Fei, one of his footmen, to go and seek the shoe, "but as the man could not find it, he had him whipped till the "blood flowed. Out of the palace ran Fei, and fell in at the gate "with a gang of murderers, who caught and garrotted him. 'Should "I oppose you?' he said, baring his body to show them his "back; on which they trusted him. He then requested leave to go "in before them; and he concealed the Ruler, came out again, and "fought them till he was killed at the gate. Shih-chi-fen-jü was "slain at the foot of the stairs. The murderers rushed in and "killed Meng Yang in the bed (of the Ruler, in which he had "laid himself to mislead them); but 'this man is not the Ruler', they "cried, 'he is not like him'. Then perceiving the foot of the Ruler "under the door, they murdered him, and placed Wu-chi on the "throne" [7].

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1 昔堯殛鯀於羽山、其神化爲黃熊、以入於羽淵. Seventh year of the reign of Chao.

2 桓. 3 魯. 4 齊.

5 Eighteenth year of Hwan's reign. 6 襄.

7 齊侯游于姑棼、遂田于貝丘、見大豕。從者曰、公子彭生也。公怒。曰、彭生敢見、射之、豕人立而啼、公懼墜于車、傷足喪屨。反誅屨于徒人費、弗得、鞭之見血。走出、遇賊于門、刼而束之。

Those two tales show that the belief in changes of men or their souls into animals flourished in ancient China. In the writings of Chwang-tszĕ we have proof that it was then believed also that souls of animals might have the shape of men, or assume it temporarily. "Yuen, the king of Sung (530—516 B.C.), dreamed at midnight "that a man with dishevelled hair peeped through a side door, "saying: 'I come [from the waters of Tsai-lu; I am a messenger "from the Limpid River, attached to the River God; a fisherman, "named Yü Tsü, has caught me'. The prince awoke, and ordered "somebody to divine his dream. 'This is a tortoise possessed of a "s h e n', said this man. 'Is there one Yü Tsü among the fishermen?' "asked the prince. 'There is', replied the attendants. 'Tell him then "to join the morning audience', said the ruler; and next morning "the man was present.

"'Fisherman', said the prince, 'what have you caught?'

"'Tsü has netted a white tortoise, as oval shaped as a basket, "and five feet broad'. . . ." [1].

In the second century before our era, Liu Ngan formally recorded in his writings, that in his time "one Kung-niu Ngai, "on having got through the crisis of an illness, had changed "into a tiger on the seventh day. His brother had closed the "door, but on entering to look at him, he was seized by the "brute and killed. Thus spots and marks had made a beast "of him; his nails and teeth had been replaced by others; his "inclinations and his mind had undergone transformation, and "his soul was altered conjointly with his body. Thus we are "never sure that a being who is a tiger now, was not a man

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費曰、我奚御哉、袒而示之背、信之。費請先入、伏公而出、鬬死于門中。石之紛如死于階下。遂入、殺孟陽於牀、曰、非君也、不類。見公之足于戶下、遂弑之而立無知. Eighth year of Chwang's reign.

[1] 宋元君夜半而夢人被髮闚阿門曰、予自宰路之淵、予爲清江使河伯之所、漁者余且得予。元君覺、使人占之。曰、此神龜也。君曰、漁者有余且乎。左右曰、有。君曰、令余且會朝、明日余且朝。君曰、漁何得。對曰、且之網得白龜焉、簨圓五尺. *Nan hwa chen king*, ch. 9, sect. 外物.

"before, nor whether a man is not also a tiger" [1]. An annotation, professedly by the hand of Kao Yiu [2], who lived towards the end of the Han dynasty, adds hereto: "In the Middle Kingdom, "patients in delirium suffer from periodical attacks of their disease; "and when such a patient turns into a tiger, he comes back to "devour men. Having done so, he becomes a real tiger, but if he "devours nobody, he may return to the human form" [3].

These extracts place it beyond all doubt, that during the Han dynasty the belief in transmutations of men into beasts was by no means rejected by men of letters, and that it was not a superstition of the uneducated class alone. Even Wang Ch'ung, the great sceptic of that time, subscribed to it, though somewhat conditionally. "A man who is dead", thus he argued, "cannot possibly appear "in the shape of a living man, just as impossible as it is for a "living man to disappear by means of the soul of a dead person. "The six domestic animals may undergo metamorphosis, and show "themselves as a human body; but if they do so, this body is "alive, and the breath composing its vital energy is still in it. "Should it be dead, and a prey of corruption, no strength of "a rhinoceros, nor a tiger's ferocity, could make it undergo any "metamorphosis. The fact that Kung-niu Ngai of Lu changed into "a tiger when he was ill, is likewise ascribable to his being then "not yet dead. In this world it does occur that living bodies are "metamorphosed into other living beings; but it has never come "to pass that a dead body was transformed into a living shape" [4].

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[1] 昔公牛哀轉病也七日化爲虎。其兄掩戶而入覘之、則虎搏而殺之。是故文章成獸、爪牙移易、志與心變、神與形化。方其爲虎也不知其嘗爲人也、方其爲人不知其且爲虎也. *Hung lieh kiai*, ch.2.

[2] 高誘.

[3] 若中國有狂疾者發作有時也、其爲虎者便還食人。食人者因作眞虎、不食人者更復化爲人.

[4] 夫死人不能假生人之形以見、猶生人不能假死人之魂以亡矣。六畜能變化、象人之形者、其形尙生、精氣尙在也。如死、其形腐朽、雖虎兕勇悍、不能復化。魯公牛哀病化爲虎亦以未

The same author is the only one we know, who tried to define precisely some prevalent ideas of his time in regard to such transformations of men and beasts. "It is generally said", thus he wrote, "that spectres (k w e i) are the t s i n g of old living animals. But "though the t s i n g of an old animal may transform into a man, "there are animals which by their nature can turn into men without "being old. Should a man have received a breath which possesses "the same t s i n g as some animal, the latter is allied with him; "and if he then falls ill, and his breath, which contains his t s i n g, "deteriorates and weakens, then that animal may haunt him and "do him harm" [1].

The strange idea that a beast, to be transformable into a man, must preferably be old, comes to the foreground repeatedly in the tales about such metamorphoses, and so the reader will often come across it in the present chapter. Koh Hung, too, recorded it in his writings. "The t s i n g of such among the myriads of animals "as have reached a great age, may, without exception, assume a "human shape, with the object of bewildering and beguiling the "minds of men, and tempting them continuously. But they cannot "change their true shape in a mirror. Therefore, all the Taoist "doctors in ancient times who entered the mountains, were in the "habit of hanging on their back a bright mirror upward of nine "inches in length, and the effect was that old ghosts did not presume "to approach them. For, any one who came up to the man to "tempt him, was obliged to look into the mirror; and then he "would see himself therein in the shape of a man if he were an "immortal genius or a good mountain ghost, but in his true shape "if he were the evil spirit of a bird or quadruped" [2].

死也。世有以生形轉爲生類者矣、未有以死身化爲生象者也. *Lun heng*, ch. 20, sect. 論死.

[1] 一曰鬼者老物之精也。物之老者其精爲人、亦有未老性能變化象人之形。人之受氣有與物同精者則其物與之交、及病精氣衰劣也則來犯凌之矣. *Op. cit.*, ch. 22, sect. 訂鬼.

[2] 萬物之老者其精悉能假託人形以眩惑人心而常試人。唯不能於鏡中易其眞形耳。是以古之入山道士皆以明鏡九寸以上懸於背後、則老

Although, as we have said, all animals in China, even the smallest, may be were-animals, a pre-eminent place among the latter is occupied by the tiger, the wolf, and the fox. It is preferably from the life and habits of this triplet that authors have drawn material for zoological myth-making: but in particular the tiger and the wolf, the most ferocious beasts that live on Chinese soil, claim our interest, whereas the tales and legends devoted to them tend to prove they are the true Asiatic representatives of the European werewolf, which throughout ancient and mediæval, and even in modern times, bewildered the minds of our own ancestors, held in commotion fancy and fears of rustic simplicity, and entailed numerous trials and executions on pitiable victims of dysaesthesia. The analogy between Chinese lycanthropy and our own is interesting enough to entitle us to bring out in the next section its most salient points by means of short references to our own literature.

1. Tigroanthropy.

Were-tigers we may well suppose to live in popular imagination throughout the length and breadth of the Middle Kingdom, whereas the royal tiger occurs in almost all the provinces, and in the Manchurian dependencies. Native authors mention only a few regions where it does not live, for instance Shantung, having perhaps been exterminated there in course of time, or died out.

The first man-tiger of which Chinese books speak, is Kung-niu Ngai, with whom we acquainted the reader on page 160. What Liu Ngan relates of this being, as well as Kao Yiu's additional note, claim our interest, inasmuch as those authors prove that already in those early ages there were Chinese who, like European physiologists did in all times, connected lycanthropy with virulent disease, delirium, and insanity. There has, in fact, existed in all times lunacy manifesting itself in bloodthirstiness and a craving for human flesh, and numerous murders and cruelties,

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魅不敢近人。或有來試人者則當顧視鏡中、其是仙人及山中好神者顧鏡中故如人形、若是鳥獸邪魅則其形貌皆見鏡中矣. *Pao P'oh-tsz'ĕ*, ch. 4, sect. 登涉.

committed in all ages, are traceable to this mystic phenomenon in the nature of man[1]. Now suppose a sufferer of such a malady possesses a cruel character. There is then nothing to prevent him from imagining he has turned into the most ferocious monster he knows, especially if, as is so often the case with fever patients, he has a sensation as if his limbs have become longer or shorter, heavier or lighter than usually, or that they have disappeared entirely or partly. Such lunacy is discernible, for instance, in the conduct and confessions of Jean Grenier, the werewolf thirteen years old, put on trial in 1603 at Bordeaux. The same thing may be said of Gilles Garnier, the werewolf of St. Bonnot, rendered harmless at the stake in 1573 at Dôle, in Franche-Comté. Bloodthirsty lunatics were, no doubt, the two brothers Gandillon, hanged and burned in the Jura in 1598, and several other lycanthropes, the accounts of whose trials have been preserved. In Bengal, tigroanthropy bears the character of lunacy. "Among the Garrows", thus Coleman writes[2], "a madness exists which they call trans-"formation into a tiger, from the person who is afflicted with this "malady, walking about like that animal, and shunning all society. "It is said that on their being first seized with this complaint, they "tear their hair and rings from their ears with such force as to "break the lobe. It is supposed to be occasioned by a medicine "applied to the forehead . . . The malady goes off in the course of "a week, or a fortnight". This chapter will show the reader several Chinese tales in which bodily or mental disease appears as the chief cause of therianthropy.

Kung-niu Ngai is not the only were-tiger of the Han dynasty, of which Chinese books relate. The *Shuh i ki* inform us, "that in "the same epoch, a prefect of Süen-ch'ing[3], named Fung Shao, "one day turned into a tiger, and devoured the people of his "jurisdiction. They cried out to him 'Lord-Envoy Fung', and then "the brute ran off, to return no more. At that time there circulated "a saying among the people, running thus: 'That nobody imitate "the Lord-Envoy Fung, the man whose government of the people "was bad all his life, and who devoured them even after his "death. Thus it is with virtueless men: when old, they become "tigers. But real tigers devour no men; it is men transformed into

1 Baring Gould, The Book of Werewolves, pp. 142 *sqq.*

2 Hindu-Mythology, p. 321.

3 The present Ning-kwoh fu 寧國府 in Nganhwui province.

"tigers who do so, for they are ashamed of their own race, and "hate it'" [1].

Thus the people in that region sought to defend themselves against that man-tiger by calling out his name. The reason of this is easily understood. Study of peoples and tribes in a low stage of culture has brought to light how utterly incapable they generally are of sharply distinguishing realities from the things that represent them, and that they are, in consequence, always ready also to identify persons with the names by which they are indicated. To them, therefore, it is an axiom, that he who knows a man's name may easily harm that man himself by working upon his name with spell and sorcery. This creates a general tendency to hide one's own name, and those of all one has to manage or to honour, a tendency easily observable also among the Chinese, as we shall have occasion elsewhere to point out. Hence it is a conception prevailing among that people, that men or man-beasts can do no harm to him that, knowing their name, is to be feared as a possessor of power over them. Here we may remark, that in Europe the idea has existed that a werewolf, when accosted by his baptismal name, would return immediately to his human form, and thus lose his dangerous character [2]. This comes out clearly from this Hessian legend, communicated by Jacob Grimm [3]: "Ein Ehpaar lebte in Armut; zur Verwunderung des Mannes wusste "die Frau dennoch bei jeder Mahlzeit Fleisch aufzutragen, lange "verheimlichend wie sie dazu gelangte; endlich aber versprach sie "ihm die Entdeckung, nur dürfe er dabei ihren Namen nicht "nennen. Nun gingen sie mit einander aufs Feld, wo eine Heerde "Schafe weidete, zu welcher die Frau ihren Schritt lenkte; und als

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1 漢宣城郡守封邵一旦化爲虎、食郡民。呼之曰封使君、因去不復來。故時人語云、無作封使君、生不治民、死食民。夫人無德而壽則爲虎。虎不食人、人化虎則食人、蓋恥其類而惡之. The first chapter. The *Shuh i ki* 述異記 consists of two chapters of annotations on marvellous events and subjects, of high value for our knowledge of superstition of the time in which it was written. It is ascribed to Jen Fang 任昉, also named Yen-shing 彥昇, an officer of the Liang dynasty in the first half of the sixth century; but the fact that it mentions some events of later times, renders this somewhat doubtful.

2 The Book of Werewolves, p. 111. Hertz, "Der Werwolf" p. 61.

3 "Deutsche Mythologie", 4th. edition, p. 917.

"sie ihr nahe gekommen waren warf sie einen Ring über sich, "wurde augenblicklich zum Werwolf, der in die Heerde fiel, eins "der Schafe griff und damit entfloh. Der Mann stand wie versteinert; "als er aber Hirt und Hunde dem Werwolf nachrennen und die "Gefahr seines Weibes sah, vergass er sein Versprechen und rief "'ach Margareit!' Da verschwand der Wolf, und die Frau stand "nackend auf dem Feld".

The *Poh wuh chi*, a work of the third century, devoted to the marvellous, tells us "that there lived in Kiang-ling (now King-"cheu-fu [1], in Hupeh) a ferocious class of people that could trans-"form themselves into tigers. The people there pretended that tigers, "metamorphosed into men, preferably wore dresses of red Dolichos "cloth, and that they had human feet without heels" [2]. There are still other peculiarities by which such dangerous creatures are recognizable. It is stated in a work of the twelfth century, that "when a tiger transforms into a man, its tail alone does not "undergo any change, and that, to enable it to become a man in "every respect, its tail must be burned off" [3]. This curious folk-conception is the reason why, many centuries afterwards, it was customary in certain parts of China to denote the celebration of a man's investiture with a state office, or his promotion to a higher dignity, by the term "burning his tail", expressive, of course, of the general opinion that now, by the happy event, he was raised to the dignity of a man in every sense and respect. "When a young "scholar", thus we read in a Chinese book, "makes his first steps "in the path to glory, or when an officer, being removed to "another post, is dismissed from the one he held, his friends and "colleagues, wishing to congratulate him and to condole with "him, do not fail to procure a complete set of choice delicacies "and spirits, and set them out as a banquet, illustrated by song and "music. This they call 'burning his tail'. For it is said there are "tigers that change into men without the tail undergoing the

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[1] 荊州府.

[2] 江陵有猛人能化爲虎。俗又曰、虎化爲人好著紫葛、人足無踵. Ch. 2.

[3] 虎化爲人惟尾不化、須燒尾乃成人. *'Rh-ya yih* 爾雅翼, "Appendix to the *'Rh ya*", a broad elaboration of this old dictionary, by the hand of Lo Yuen 羅願, who flourished in the latter half of the twelfth century. Section 貙.

"metamorphosis, so that, to make them become real men, it "is necessary to burn it away; and whereas a man newly favoured "with an official dignity is, as it were, a tiger that has assumed "the human state in principle, but to which the tail still sticks, "this appendage is, on this occasion, burned off, that he may "get rid entirely of his old body. Hence the expression 'to burn "off his tail'" [1].

Also in other East-Asiatic countries where the belief in were-tigers prevails, we find the conception that they may be recognized as such, when in their human shape, by certain peculiar marks. In Java, and in many parts of Sumatra they are thought to lack heels and the perpendicular gully of the upper lip [2]. It is well known that lycanthropists in Europe were considered discoverable from the meeting of their eyebrows above the nose, and from their appearing in certain hours of the night as three-legged dogs [3].

In our above extract from the *Poh wuh chi* there is still a point which claims our attention. It teaches us, that already in early times certain classes of persons in particular were credited with the power to become tigers at pleasure. Undoubtedly, the extract refers to the so-called Man, the old aborigines of Hupeh, and of other provinces west and south of it, of whom we had occasion to speak on page 1065 of our First Book; for also from other sources we learn that these autochthones were described of old by the Chinese proper as man-tigers. First of all, it is the Standard History of the Han dynasty which relates, that in an unknown age far remote, those living in a region corresponding with the present Hupeh and Szĕ-chʿwen, set up a king for the first time, named Lin-kiün, and that "when "this worthy died, his dual soul (his hwun and his pʿoh) became "a white tiger for ever. Hence the tribes named Pa, taking into

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[1] 士子初登榮進、及遷除、朋僚慰賀、必盛置酒饌音樂以展歡宴。謂之燒尾。說者有虎變爲人唯尾不變、須爲燒除乃得成人、故以初蒙拜授如虎得爲人本、尾猶在、脫體既全、方爲焚之、故云燒尾. *Wen kien ki* 聞見記, "Record of what I heard and saw", ten chapters of miscellanies by Fung Yen 封演, an officer of the second half of the eighth century, of whom little is known.

2 "Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde", XLI, pp. 576 *seq.* and XXVI, page 304. Van Hasselt, "Midden-Sumatra", I, page 75.

3 Grimm, "Deutsche Mythologie", p. 918. The Book of Werewolves, p. 110.

"consideration that tigers drink human blood, sacrificed human "beings to him from that time" [1]. This curious ancestor transmitted his tigership to his posterity. "In the regions along the Yang-tszĕ, "and along the Han (its chief tributary in Hupeh)", thus relates Yü Pao, "live tiger-men, who, being descendants from a progenitor "named Lin-kiün, are able to transform themselves into tigers. In "the east of the Man districts belonging to Ch'ang-sha (in Hunan), "some people living high up the mountains had made a trap for "tigers. Its spring went off, and they hurried altogether to the spot "the next morning to kill the beast; but they found a pavilion- "guardian with a large red cap on, sitting in the trap. On being "asked how he had got there, he said, flushed with rage: 'The "prefect of this district sent for me yesterday; but I had to skulk "somewhere in the dark against the rain, and thus inadvertently "got into this trap; be quick and let me out'. 'But', the bystanders "asked, 'if you were sent for by the prefect, must not you then have "his letter with you?' And in fact he produced such a document "out of his bosom. Immediately they let him out; but no sooner "had they seen him than he changed into a tiger, that ran away "up-hill" [2].

And T'ao Ts'ien relates: "Under the Wei dynasty (third century), "the Man living in the mountains north of the Sin-yang district "(northern Kiangsi) possessed certain arts to transform men into "tigers, with hair, colours, claws and teeth altogether like real tigers. "A villager there, named Cheu Chen, had a slave, whom he sent "one day to the hills to hack wood for the fire. His wife and "younger sister accompanied him. No sooner had they reached the "hills than the slave said to the women: 'Climb a high tree and "see what I will do'. They obeyed, and he retired into the thicket;

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[1] 廩君死、魂魄世爲白虎。巴氏以虎飲人血遂以人祠焉. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 116, l. 11.

[2] 江漢之域有貙人、其先廩君之苗裔也、能化爲虎。長沙所屬蠻縣東高居民曾作檻捕虎。檻發、明日衆人共往格之、見一亭長、赤幘大冠、在檻中坐。因問、君何以入此中、亭長大怒曰、昨忽被縣召、夜避雨遂誤入此中、急出我。曰、君見召不當有文書耶。卽出懷中召文書。於是卽出之、尋視乃化爲虎、上山走. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 12.

"and immediately they saw a big tiger rush forth, yellow-striped, "with frightful roars and impetuous movements. The two women "were tremendously frightened. After some time, the monster with- "drew once more into the thicket, to become in a few moments "a man again. 'You must not tell anything about it at home', "he said to the women. Still they blabbed it out to their "fellow slaves, through whom Cheu Chen heard of it. He then "inebriated the slave thoroughly with spirituous liquor, and had "him stripped naked. But however closely they examined every "part of his body, nothing particular was to be seen on it. In his "hair, however, they found a piece of paper with a large tiger "painted on it, and a charm beside the beast. Cheu Chen took it "and copied (?) it, and when the slave had got sober, he called him "and interrogated him. The man seeing his secret discovered, roundly "avowed everything. Having wandered among the Man with rice for "sale, he said, one of their wizards had told him that he was in pos- "session of the art in question, and he had got it from him for three "feet of linen, some pecks of rice, a red cock, and a pint of liquor" [1].

Beyond the confines of the Chinese Empire, the power to take the forms of savage beasts we find ascribed likewise to special tribes or classes of men. It is reported that in Java there is, on mount Lamongan, a village of man-tigers or matjan gadungan. Natives of the environs take care not to pass the night there, nay,

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[1] 魏時潯陽縣北山中蠻人有術能使人化作虎、毛色爪牙悉如眞虎。鄉人周昉有一奴、使入山伐薪。奴有婦及妹亦與俱行。既至山、奴語二人云、汝且上高樹、視我所爲。如其言、既而入草、須臾見一大黃斑虎從草中出、奮迅吼喚甚可畏怖。二人大駭. 良久還草中、少時復還爲人。語二人云、歸家愼勿道。後遂向等輩說之、周尋復知。乃以醇酒飲之、令熟醉、使人解其衣服。及身體事事詳悉、了無他異。唯於髻髮中得一紙、畫作大虎、虎邊有符。周密取錄之、奴既醒喚問之。見事已露、遂具說本末。云、先嘗于蠻中告糴、有蠻師云有此術、乃以三尺布、數升米稻、一赤雄雞、一升酒授得此法. *Sheu shen heu ki*, ch.

the villagers themselves duly refuse all strangers any night-lodgings, as better than anybody they know their dangerous power, though not the times at which their changes may take place [1]. Elsewhere in that island, too, places notorious for were-tigers exist [2]. In Sumatra, the power of transforming into tigers is alleged of the people in a large village on the Dempu, a vulcano in Palembang. Often, it is said, they come down-hill in human disguise to frequent neighbouring markets, and many are known to have married girls of other villages [3]. In the same island, the population assert that there is in or about the country of Korinchi a negari, which they call Banyebalingka, consisting of two villages inhabited by so-called u r a n g c h i n d a k u. Those of one village can assume human as well as tigrine forms; in the other they turn themselves from time to time into pigs, and then return to their human shape. There are certain times in every year when, as royal tigers, they haunt the forests far and wide, and depredate the habitations of men. Wherever on their excursions it suits their purpose, they assume the human shape, then being unrecognizable but from the absence of a gully in the upper lip. They enter human dwellings to ask for night-lodgings, and when everybody is asleep, they attack the inmates and devour their hearts. They prey especially on cattle. The pig-c h i n d a k u are not so dangerous, as they only devastate the crops [4].

Of the Lava in Birma, Bastian writes: "Ein Birmane wagt es nie, "ein von Lava bewohntes Dorf zu betreten, da er unfehlbar von Wehr-"wölfen oder Mann-Bären gebissen und sterben würde. An Wehr-"wolfgeschichten über Lao sowohl als über Lava ist Siam ebenso "wie Kambodia reich, die Rolle auf den Tiger übertragend" [5]. Elsewhere we read: "To this day, Hindus settled in Chota-Nagpur "and Singbhum firmly believe that the Mundas have power of "witchcraft, whereby they can transform themselves into tigers and "other beasts of prey to devour their enemies, and can witch away "the lives of men and beasts; it is to the wildest and most savage "of the tribe that such powers are generally ascribed" [6]. We need hardly recall here the world-known fact that Herodotus told much

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1 "Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde", XXVI, p. 307.

2 "Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië", 1899, p. 689—690.

3 Mohnike, "Bangka und Palembang", p. 165.

4 Van Hasselt, "Midden-Sumatra", I, p. 75.

5 "Die Völker des Oestlichen Asiën", I, page 119.

6 Dultan, The Kols; quoted by Tylor, Primitive Culture, I, page 314.

the same thing of the Neuri, the early inhabitants of Lithuania and Volhynia. Those men, he wrote, seem to be wizards, as the Scythians and the Greeks established in Scythia assert that every one of them changes himself once a year into a wolf, and retains this shape for some days, then to return to the human form; not that I believe it, but they assert that it is so, and they are ready to confirm the truth of it by oath [1]. The same statements we have also from other authors, as Solinus, and Pomponius Mela (lib. II). Of the Arcadians, Evanthes and Pausanias state, that certain individuals among them unclothed themselves sometimes and crossed a water, to play the wolf for nine years. And Nathaniel Pierce, who resided in Abyssinia from 1810 to 1819, wrote that the caste of blacksmiths there were reputed to change themselves into hyenas and other savage beasts. Those so-called Budas or Tebbibs wore gold earrings, and Coffin declared he had often found hyenas with such rings in their ears, even among those he had shot or speared himself [2].

The tale of Cheu Chen's slave shows a new feature in Chinese tiger-lore, which, like so many others, we find also in therianthropy elsewhere in Asia and in Europe, namely, that the change into a beast may be brought about artificially and wilfully by means of charms, spells, and other instruments of witchcraft. The Garrows, we saw on page 164, are stated to transform themselves into tigers by applying medecine on the forehead. The Javanese have their ngelmu gadungan, lit. their science or spells by which men may turn themselves into tigers [3]. Of the Siamese we read, "durch Hersprechen gewisser Zauberformeln können sich Menschen "in Tiger verwandlen, und gleich den Wehrwölfen Nachts umher- "treiben um Beute zu suchen" [4]. Formulas of witchcraft held a prominent place also in Europe in the recipes to become a werewolf, side by side with certain unguents, wolfskins, and mysterious rings or girdles.

Some of the were-tiger legends that we have thus far placed before our readers, decidedly put forth the human soul as having a prominent share in the metamorphosis. We saw Liu Ngan declare

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1 Liber IV, cap. 105.

2 Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pierce, I, p. 286, quoted by Baring Gould, p. 119, Tylor, p. 113, and Hertz, p. 30.

3 Roorda's Javanese-Dutch Dictionary. "Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde", XLI, pp. 569 and 579.

4 Bastian, "Reisen in Siam", p. 261.

explicitly, that when Kung-niu Ngai became a tiger, his soul was altered conjointly with his body (p. 160); further, we saw that the primeval ancestor of the Man did not change bodily into a tiger, but that it was his two souls that turned into the monster after his death (p. 167); and finally, governor Fung Shao devoured, in the shape of a tiger, his people after his death (p. 164). None of those tales, however, speak of, nor even allude to a transition of the soul of its hero into the brute. On the other hand, the other tales we have given represent the metamorphosis into the beast, and back into the man, as purely corporeal, and not the slightest trace of an idea do we find in them that a transposition of a soul was its working power. Thus we have to distinguish in China between two kinds of metamorphoses; and it is to this duplex that we can reduce all tales of were-animals, which the reader will find still in this chapter. Accordingly, the theory of ethnologists, generally admitted as correct, that the belief in changes of men into animals and of animals into men, wherever we find it, is nothing else than a logical consequence of a belief in metempsychosis, appears quite untenable when viewed from the standpoint of Chinese myth.

Those able to write books in good style being in China, in all times, picked men of education and learning, the extracts from Chinese books, which we inserted in the above pages, necessarily lead to the conclusion, that the belief in were-tigers was, throughout those ages, fully shared in that realm by the most civilized class. No wonder then, that changes of men into tigers are recorded formally in such high-class works as the Standard Histories of the T'ang dynasty. One we will place here before the reader, to show also, again, that the Chinese avow a connection between lycanthropy and disease. "In the second year of the Shen kung "period (A.D. 698), the assistant-recorder in Ch'en-cheu (in the "south of Hunan), while ill, changed into a tiger, and was "going to devour his brothers' wife, when he was caught, and "became a man again" [1]. Even the great Ch'ing, one of the brother-pair whose attainments, as on page 34 we saw, were such as to enable them to invent a novel theory about the constitution of the human soul, unreservedly believed in were-tigers. "Being asked by

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[1] 神功二年郴州佐史因病化爲虎、欲食其嫂擒之乃人也. Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 36, l. 21.

"some one whether the metamorphoses of men into tigers, of which "the traditions of ages speak, may be reasonably credited as real, "he said: 'They may. When I sojourned in Feu-tsʿun, I saw a "man in a pumpkin-field, getting gradually covered with hair like "that of a tiger, and his body spotted and striped all over. "In the course of the night he opened the bolted courtyard of a "house and, like a tiger, devoured a hog in the stable. Thus, "though his metamorphosis was still incomplete, he was affected in "such a measure by the influences of the tiger kind, that its nature "thoroughly imbued him" [1].

This sage diction of one of the greatest men of his century is transmitted in a curious work on tiger-lore, in six chapters, written in the 16th. century by one Chʿen Ki-jü [2], a native of Sung-kiang [3] in southern Kiangsu, who, drawing attention by his learning, steadfastly refused all offers of the Crown to enter into the service of the State. Its title, *Hu wei* [4] or "Luxuriant Herbage (Collectanea) on the Tiger", bears evidence in itself of having been chosen by the author as a variation upon the synonymous title of another work of the same kind, extant in his time, namely the *Hu yuen* [5], professedly by one Wang Chi-teng [6], a learned minister of the same century. Chʿen Ki-jü's book holds a place in China as a standard work on tiger-lore; but many of its tales are too frivolous to inspire us with interest. A very great part of its contents, if not the greatest part, was borrowed from earlier writings, and may be traced to books written before and under the Tʿang dynasty.

Chʿing's man in the pumpkin-field is a remarkable specimen of the were-tiger class, inasmuch as he represents a partial change of a man into a tiger. Slow and fragmentary metamorphoses of men into beasts are often mentioned in Chinese books; and we have to lay particular stress upon this fact, as it confirms our suggestion, that metamorphosis into an animal is not necessarily connected in Chinese thought with a transition of the soul of the latter

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[1] 或問、世傳有人化虎理有之乎、程子曰、有之。昔在涪村見民瓜田漸變如虎毛斑斑然通身。夜開關廷、虎食其牢中之豕。化雖未成、而氣類相感、其情已通矣. *Hu wei*, TS, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 63.

[2] 陳繼儒. [3] 松江. [4] 虎薈.

[5] 虎苑. [6] 王稚登.

into the man; if otherwise, the changes of form would undoubtedly be represented almost always as sudden and total. Here is another tale, showing that the transfiguration may be a process slow and long, and may manifest itself by a gradual change of the nature and character of the person undergoing it:

"When the House of Tsin reigned, one Yih Pah, an official to "the Governor of Yü-chang, departed in his turn for his native "place in the I h i period. But he retired to a remote spot, and "did not go home. The Governor sent some men to fetch him, "with whom Pah spoke and discoursed as usually, regaling them "with food; but when they urged him to dress himself, he said: "'Look into my face'. And they saw that his eyes were distended "at the corners, and that there were yellow striped colours on "his body. He then reared himself on one leg, and straightway left "the house through the door. At first he dwelled on the slope "for a time, but then he went to the forest and changed into a "large three-legged tiger. The one leg on which he had reared himself "then became his tail" [1].

Many traditions about transformation of men into tigers, found in books, forfeit their right to our interest, as bearing the clearest marks of having been hatched by fancy in its wildest form. In this category occurs the following, the most extravagant we have seen, which we insert for this reason as a curiosity:

"Under the Tsin dynasty, the child of a villager in the district "of Fuh-yang always pastured a cow, by which it was licked one "day, the spots touched by the tongue turning quite white. The "child then died suddenly. When the family buried the corpse, "they slaughtered the cow to regale the visitors, with the result "that of those who eat of the flesh, more than twenty of both "sexes changed altogether into tigers" [2].

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[1] 晉時豫章郡吏易拔義熙中受番還家。遠遁不返。郡遣追、見拔言語如常、亦爲設食、使者催令束裝、拔因語曰、汝看我面。乃見眼目角張、身有黃斑色。便竪一足、徑出門去家。先依山爲居、至林麓卽變成三足大虎。所竪一足卽成其尾也. *I yuen*; K K, ch. 426.

[2] 晉復陽縣里民家兒常牧牛、牛忽舐此兒、舐處肉悉白。兒俄而死。其家葬此兒、殺牛以供賓

In Europe, lycanthropy was often inflicted upon men as a punishment. We need only mention here Vereticus, king of Wales, transformed in the fourth or fifth century by St. Patrick into a wolf; and St. Natalis, who cursed an illustrious Irish family, with the result that all its members assumed the shape of wolves for seven years, living and howling in the forests, and devouring sheep. In Normandy, the people believe that transformation into a loup-garou is sometimes inflicted on a damned person, who, tortured in his grave, tears his way out of it. In France the belief was general that the devil frequently punished men by changing them into wolves; and among the Russians the conception is not less strong that the wawkalak are beings who have incurred the wrath of Satan [1]. In Armenia, according to Von Haxthausen [2], "gibt es "Weiber, die in Folge schwerer Sünde von Gott gestraft sind, "dass sie sieben Jahre lang in Wölfe verwandelt werden".

The same phenomenon we observe in China. There, too, the reasons for which men may be transformed into tigers by way of punishment are, of course, manifold. "In the time when the Ts'in dynasty "reigned", thus we read in a work of the fifth century, "there stood "ten miles from Suh-hien (in the present Ngan-hwui province) "a look-out pavilion, with a sacrificial temple dedicated to the "River-god. Many miracles occurred there, proving the animation "of that divinity. Passers-by who neglected to pay their respects, "were sure to go mad and run off into the mountains, to change "there into tigers" [3]. "And in the T'ai khang period of the "Tsin dynasty, Ching Sih, a native of Yung-yang, was Governor "of Kwang-ling (the present Yang-cheu department [4], in Kiangsu), "when the equerry of his house suddenly began to behave as "a madman [5], and disappeared. A month after he was found,

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客、凡食此牛肉男女二十餘人悉變作虎. *Kwang i ki*, KK, ch. 426.

1 Baring Gould, pp. 58, 107, 115.

2 Transkaukasia, I, p. 322.

3 秦時中宿縣十里外有觀亭江神祠壇。甚靈異。經過有不恪者必狂走入山變爲虎. *I yuen*; TS, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 65. Observe that we have here another instance of lycanthropy combined with derangement of mind.

4 揚州府.

5 Here again we have lycanthropy combined with mental derangement.

"naked, crying and yelling, his blood dripping from his skin. "On being asked what was the cause of it, he related that the "God of the Ground had ordered that he should become a tiger, "and had covered him with a spotted skin, thereupon giving "orders to his men to seize and whip him. Under this castigation "he could not help roaring and jumping, and thereby he so enraged "his divine Majesty, that he ordered him to be skinned. This "mutilating operation made him suffer horribly, as the skin had "adhered firmly to his flesh. In ten days he recovered" [1].

Another work relates:

"In the Ching yuen period (785—805) there lived in the "district of Wu-ch'ing, which is a subdivision of Kwoh-cheu, in the "Black Fish valley, a man of the people, named Wang Yung, who "earned a living by making charcoal in the valley. There was there "a sheet of water, some pu in circumference, in which that man "often saw two black fishes swim to the surface, more than a foot "in length. Once, hungry with wood-cutting, he ate one of the "fishes. At this his scared younger brother exclaimed: 'Perhaps it "was an animated animal of this valley; how could you presume "to take its life?'

"Some time after, his wife comes to bring him his food. But "Yung goes on brandishing his axle, and he is long in turning "his face to her. She then perceives something strange in his attitude "and countenance, and calls his younger brother to come and look. "On a sudden he stands quite naked before them, and changes "into a tiger, with loud roars and bounds. Then straightway "he runs into the mountains. Here he kills a roe or stag from "time to time, and deposes it at night in the courtyard of the "dwelling.

"Having gone on with this for a year or two, he knocks at the "door one day, after sunset. 'I am Yung', he says; but his brother "replies: 'My brother became a tiger more than three years ago; "what demon here misuses his name?' Upon which the other retorts:

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[1] 晉太康中滎陽鄭襲爲廣陵太守、門下騶忽如狂癲、失其所在。經月尋得、裸身呼吟、膚血淋漓。問其故云、社公令其作虎、以斑皮衣之、辭以執鞭之。士不堪撻躍、神怒還使剝皮。皮已著肉、瘡毀慘痛。旬日乃差. *I yuen*; TS, sect. 神異, ch. 316.

"'In that year, the Nether-world doomed me to become a tiger for "having killed the black fish, and an official there had a hundred "blows inflicted on me because I murdered a man. They have now "set me at liberty, and I have wounds caused by the sticks all "over my body; look at me, brother, and give up your mistrust'. "Elated, the brother opens the door immediately, and beholds a "man with a tiger's head. He is so frightened by the sight that "he dies, and the whole family flee on all sides, screaming and "yelling; and the end of the story is, that the villagers despatch "the monster. Then examining the body, they discover a black "spot on it, which proves it to be Wang Yung's, and his head "alone has remained unchanged. In the Yuen hwo period, the "local scholar Chao Ts'i-yoh, who often frequented that glen, still "found this tale current among the villagers" [1].

This tale is not in every respect so wild and fanciful as it appears at first sight. Evidently it places before us a man who, by eating some venomous aquatic animal, incurred a disease with such symptoms as a swollen, deformed head, and delirious fever driving him mad into the forest. All the rest we put to the account of the fancy of rural simplicity, dominated by lycanthropic superstition.

We must now return for a moment to the story of Ching Sih's

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[1] 虢州五城縣黑魚谷貞元中百姓王用業炭於谷中。中有水、方數步、常見二黑魚、長尺餘、遊於水上。用伐木饑困、遂食一魚。其弟驚曰、此魚或谷中靈物、兄奈何殺此。

有頃其妻餉之。用運斤不已、久乃轉面。妻覺狀貌有異、呼其弟視之。忽褫衣、號躍變爲虎焉。徑入山、時時殺麏鹿、夜擲庭中。

如此二年、一日日昏叩門。自名曰、我用也。弟應曰、我兄變爲虎三年矣、何鬼假吾兄姓名。又曰、我往年殺黑魚、冥譴爲虎、比因殺人冥官笞余一百。今免放、杖傷遍體、汝弟視予、無疑也。弟喜遽開門、見一人、頭猶是虎。因怖死、舉家叫呼奔避、竟爲村人格殺之。驗其身有黑子、信王用也、但首未變。元和中處士趙齊約常至谷中、見村人說. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, supplement, ch. 2.

equerry (page 175). There is a point in it which cannot have failed to strike the reader who is acquainted somewhat with the main features of European lycanthropy, namely, that that man became a tiger by the wearing of a tiger-skin. In Europe also men became were-wolves in a corresponding way. Jean Grenier avowed that he wore sometimes a wolf-skin, given him by an individual whom he called Monsieur de la Forest, together with an unguent to besmear himself with [1]. In Normandy, people aver that those who are doomed to become loups garous must clothe themselves every evening with a hure or wolf-hide, which is a loan from the devil [2]. The wukodlak in Servia, during the meetings they hold in winter, hang their skins on the trees, and if any one manages to seize and burn one, the were-wolf to whom it belongs is thenceforth disenchanted [3]. An Esthonian saga acquaints us with a she-wolf, who, whenever she was alone, placed her skin on a rock to suckle her child; and her husband, who had perceived this, ordered the rock to be heated, that the skin might be burned and his consort restored to him [4]. And the old Norse Volsunga Saga speaks in the same strain when it acquaints us, in its eighth chapter, with two princes who were men only once in every five days, and on all other days roved about as wolves, dressing themselves to this end in skins of those animals. Sigmund and Sinfiotle took away those hides, slung them around their bodies, and ran through the forests as wolves; and when the time came that they could put them off, they burned them, lest they should cause further evil. In Armenia, thus we learn from Von Haxthausen [5], "gibt es Weiber, die in Folge "schwerer Sünde von Gott gestraft sind, dass sie sieben Jahre lang "in Wölfe verwandelt werden. Es tritt dann in einer Nacht ein "Geist zu einem solchen Weibe mit einem Wolfsfelle, und befiehlt "ihm es anzuziehen. Sowie es dies gethan, entstehen in ihm ent-"setzliche Wolfsgelüste. Anfangs kämpft die menschliche Natur mit "diesen, aber bald gewinnen jene die Oberhand, und nun frisst das "Weib zuerst die eigenen Kinder auf, dann die Kinder der Ver-"wandten nach der Nähe des Grades, zuletzt fremde Kinder. Es "wüthet nur des Nachts; sowie der Morgen nahet wird es wieder "zum Weibe, wirft das Fell ab, und versteckt dies sorgfältig.

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1 Baring Gould, pp. 88, 92, 94.
2 Ibid., p. 107.
3 Ibid., p. 115.
4 De Gubernatis, Zoological Mythology, II, p. 144.
5 Transkaukasia, I, p. 322.

"Einst sah ein Mann einen Wolf, der ein Kind ergriffen, fort-
"springen. Er verfolgt ihn eilig, kann ihn aber nicht erreichen.
"Endlich gegen Morgen findet er auf einer Stelle die Hände und
"Füsse eines Kindes und die Blutspuren; er entdeckt eine nahe
"Höhle und findet in derselben ein Wolfsfell. Er nimmt es, macht
"rasch ein Feuer an und wirft es hinein; da erscheint plötzlich
"ein Weib und jammert und heult ganz entsetzlich und springt
"um das Feuer, und will das schon brennende Fell herausziehen.
"Aber der Mann verhindert es; kaum ist aber das Fell verbrannt,
"so ist auch das Weib im Rauche verschwunden".

According to prevailing belief in Europe, certain girdles also could produce the metamorphosis. "The were-wolves", thus Richard Verstegan wrote, "use oyntment, and a girdle inchaunted, and to "their own thinking are wolves as long as they wear the said "girdle" [1]. "Nach ältesten einheimischen Begriffe", says Grimm [2], "hängt Annahme der Wolfsgestalt ab von dem Ueberwerfen eines "Wolfgürtels oder Wolfhemds. Jeder das Wolfhemd anlegende und "der damit Bezauberte erfährt Umwandlung, und bleibt neuntage-"lang Wolf; nach anderen Sagen muss er drei, sieben oder neun "Jahre in dem Wolfsleib beharren. Mit dem Aussehen nimmt er "zugleich Wildheit und Heulen des Wolfs an; Wälder durch-"streifend zerfleischt er Alles was ihm vorkommt".

Stories of men transformed into tigers by wearing a skin of the monster, are abundant in China. One, bringing out more clearly than any other this trait of lycanthropy, we select for insertion here. "In Ning-p'o (in Chehkiang), Ch'en Shih-san, an "old man, has laboured under fever for longer than a year, without "recovering, when some one advises him to subdue his illness by "procuring a tiger-skin. Thenceforth he sits and sleeps upon such "a skin for more than ten years, but he remains as ill as ever he "was. After that, he suddenly wraps the skin around his body, "leaves the house in the dark of night, and changes into a "tiger. Devouring animals, he frequently brings house-pigs to the "dwelling, and the inmates thus being profited, never ask whence "he got them.

"One day he appears with the thigh of a man on his back. "'That old bandit', exclaims his affrighted sister-in-law, 'he plays "the demon!' — and at once she grasps a flail; but the other

1 Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities, 1628.
2 "Deutsche Mythologie", p. 916.

"crouches down outside the door, and before the eyes of the woman, "clothes himself in the skin, in order to assume the other shape. "The woman however, hurrying forth immediately, gives him a "thrashing before one of his hands has undergone metamorphosis. "With a bound he escapes, to come back no more.

"Thenceforth, those who pass through the mountains see a tiger "now and then, with a fore-paw like a human hand. Those who "know what has happened exclaim: 'Ch'en Shih-san, old man, I am "your neighbour, harm me not'; and then the brute droops the "tips of his ears, and with his tail hanging down, withdraws; "but all those who do not know him, the monster devours. Thus "several years pass on, till one night a tiger is killed by a violent "thunderstorm. All run out to see the beast, and find an old man "with a human hand" [1].

Remarking, in passing, that this tale furnishes a new illustration of the belief that were-tigers are harmless to those who show them that they know their name (comp. page 165), we must here draw peculiar attention to its bringing us on the track of another trait which Chinese tiger-lore has in common with our own lycanthropy, namely, that were-beasts are by no means always viciously disposed towards those with whom they are related by kinship or other ties. They may even be kind enough to provide them with cattle and venison. Such a kind were-tiger also was Wang Yung, whose story we gave on page 176. Were-tigresses,

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[1] 寧波陳十三老人者常病瘧經年、不瘥、有人教以置虎皮鎮之。乃坐臥一虎皮十載、而病如故。後忽蒙虎皮、夜出、化虎。食物、每銜畜豕至家、家人利其所有、不問也。

一日自外負一人股至。其姊懼曰、老賊作怪矣、操棓、伏門外俟焉、見其蒙虎皮欲化。卽出擊之、時一手尚未變。遂躍去、竟不復還。

自後山行者往往見一虎、前一足尚是人手。有知者則呼曰、陳十三老人、吾汝鄰也、莫作惡、虎聞之弭耳、垂尾而去、其不識者乃食之。如是者數年、一夕暴雷震死一虎。衆視之、卽人手老人也. *Hu wei.*

too, are described sometimes as amiably disposed, especially towards those who excite their love or sexual passion. "Thus it happened "under the Tsin dynasty, in the last year of the T'ai yuen period "(A.D. 396), that one Sü Hwan, on leaving his dwelling, perceived "in vague form a maid, who fascinated him by a ditty, and "wanted him to go between the shrubs. He follows her, enchanted "by her charms; but on a sudden she changes into a tigress, "takes Hwan on her back, and runs off with him straightway into "the deepest of the hills. His neighbours seek him everywhere, "but discover nothing but the track of the brute. Ten days after, "the tigress brings him back, and deposes him at the gate of his "house" [1].

Europe, too, had her good-natured and virtuous lycanthropes. The Hessian myth, given on page 165, acquaints us with a dutiful housewife, turning herself into a wolf out of mere affection for her famishing husband and children, whom she is anxious to provide with animal food from the forests, meadows, stables and pens. In Russia, wawkalak whom the devil has punished with this metamorphosis, are generally recognised by their family and well fed; they do them no harm at all, and even lick their hands [2]. A werewolf noble by birth and character was knight Bisclaveret, saved from oblivion by Marie de France, who panegyrized him about the year 1200 in a poem; still nobler a part he plays as knight Biclarel in the "Roman du Renard Contrefait", composed in the first half of the fourteenth century. To the same kind-hearted, helpful type belonged the hero of the Lai de Melion of the thirteenth century, a knight of king Artus, doomed to wander about as a werewolf for a long time in consequence of a shameless trick of his wife [3]. But the most generous and noble werewolf of all times and countries was the royal scion who helped Guillaume de Palerne, the infant son of Ebron, king of Pouille, across the Straits of Messina to a forest about Rome, where he brought him up, to save him a second time from starvation when, a grown youth, he fled, after a

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1 晉太元末徐桓出門、彷彿見一女子、因言曲相調、便要桓入草中。桓悅其色、乃隨去、女子忽然變成虎、負桓著背上、徑向深山。其家左右尋覓、惟見虎跡。旬日虎送桓、下著門外. *1 yuen.*

2 Baring Gould, page 116. Hertz, page 120.

3 Karl Warnke, "Die Lais der Marie de France", 1885, pp. LXXIV *sqq.*

series of adventures, into the woods with his beloved Melior, the daughter of the emperor of Rome [1].

But the weretiger and the werewolf show themselves in China in by far most cases from a very bad side. The cruel, bloodthirsty character of the brutes must, of course, in general preponderate and turn them into real man-eaters and cattle-destroyers. On this account they decidedly claim a place among the broad class of demons and devils. So we shall have to give our attention to them again in chapter V of the next Part of this Book, in the first and the second section, which the reader may accordingly consider as direct continuations of the present one and the next.

2. Lycanthropy.

Although, as the foregoing pages show with abundance of evidence, the part of the werewolf is fully played in China by the royal tiger, China possesses also the real werewolf, in every respect the counterpart of our wawkalak or loup-garou. He is not referred to in the native literature so often as the man-tiger; which is, no doubt, owing in the first place to the circumstance, that the area over which the wolf is distributed is not by far so vast as that where the tiger lives. He was, in fact, stated already by authors under the T'ang dynasty "not to exist south of the Yang-tszĕ" [2].

In the fourth century, all wolves were stated categorically by Koh Hung to be transmutable into men, provided they had passed their five-hundredth year of age. "Foxes and wolves", thus he wrote, "may all attain an age of eight hundred years, and when "more than five hundred years old, they are able to metamorphose "themselves into beings shaped like men" [3]. The Standard Histories of the same period also testify to the prevalence of the belief in Isegrim as a turncoat, and that in such wording as leaves no room for doubting that belief was general. "Wang I", thus we read, "whose cognomen was Chung-teh, was seventeen years "old, when Fu Kien was defeated. He and his brother Jui

1 Michelant, "Guillaume de Palerne", 1876, published by the "Société des Anciens Textes Français".

2 江南無狼. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*; TS, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 70.

3 狐狸豺狼皆壽八百歲、滿五百歲則善變爲人形. *Pao P'oh-tszĕ*, ch. 1, sect. 3.

"then raised a division of volunteers, whom they led to battle "against Mu-yung Ch'ui; but they were worsted, and Chung-teh, "wounded severely, had to take to flight, and went astray with his "family. After crossing a vast sheet of water, they were unable to "proceed any further, and quite exhausted, they laid themselves down "in the thicket, when suddenly a youth appeared in blue clothes, "riding on a cow. Perceiving Chung-teh, he asks him whether he had "something to eat; and the latter avowing how hungry he is, the "youth goes away, and returns after a while with some food, which "he gives him. His hunger being thus appeased, Chung-teh is "anxious to proceed; but just then the stream is swelling tremen- "dously, so that all are at a loss where to save themselves. But "now a white wolf appears before them. Lifting its eyes up to the "sky, it howls, takes Chung-teh's robe between its jaws, and helps "him across the water; and Chung-teh is thus saved, and rejoins "his brother . . . .

" When he ruled for the third time over the Sü-cheu region (North- "western Kiangsu), displaying there his awe-inspiring virtues in the "city of P'eng, he built a Buddhist convent with a pagoda, in "which he placed an image of the white wolf-youth whom he had "met at that time in Ho-poh; and in the thirteenth year he conferred "on him the title of General subduing the North. He departed this "life in the fifteenth year (of the Yuen kia period, A.D. 438), "and then in his soul-temple too an altar was erected in honour "of the white wolf-youth; and when offerings were presented in "the edifice, they never neglected to sacrifice on that altar" [1].

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[1] 王懿、字仲德、苻氏之敗年十七。與兄叡同起義兵、與慕容垂戰敗、仲德被重創走、與家屬相失路。經大澤不能前、困臥林中、忽有青衣童兒騎牛行。見仲德問曰、食未、仲德告飢、兒去、頃之復來、攜食與之。仲德食畢欲行、會水潦暴至、莫知所如。有一白狼至前。仰天而號、號訖銜仲德衣因渡水、仲德隨之獲濟、與叡相及。。。

仲德三臨徐州、威德著於彭城、立佛寺、作白狼童子像於塔中、以河北所遇也、十三年進號鎮北大將軍。十五年卒、亦於廟立白狼童子壇、每祭必祠之. Books of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 46, ll. 2 and 5. See also the History of the South, ch. 25, ll. 1 and 3.

This narrative shows us the Chinese werewolf from his good side, as a *deus ex machina*, well-disposed to men, as so many of his confreres in Europe. It is, however, especially in his other character that he fascinates popular imagination, that is to say, as a ravening man-eater, a true demon, almost equalling the tiger in ferocity and dangerousness. As such the reader will find him described in a few special pages of our chapter on Animal-demons, the fifth of the next Part of this Book.

3. Cynanthropy.

Transformations of men into dogs, or of dogs into men, do not, as far as we know, appear in Chinese literature earlier than the first century B.C. In that epoch it occurred, according to the Standard History of the Han dynasty, "under the reign of the "emperor Ch'ing, in the first year of the Ho p'ing period "(28 B.C.), that two men in Ch'ang-ngan, named Shih Liang and "Liu Yin, who lived in the same dwelling, found in their room "a being in a human shape, whom they belaboured with blows "so soundly that he turned into a dog, and ran out of the "house. Thereupon several men in coat of mail, armed with spears "and bows, marched up to Liang's house; but the owner and his "people received them so heroically with blows and strokes, that "they were killed or wounded, and then all changed into dogs. "Their attacks lasted from the second month till the sixth" [1].

T'ao Ts'ien wrote in his collection of tales and marvels:

"In Lin-lü (in Honan) there stood at the foot of a mountain a "pavilion, where people, when they passed the night in it, frequently "incurred disease and death. It was then generally taken for a "meeting-place for a mixed company of ten or more human beings "of both sexes, who, sometimes in black, at other times in yellow "clothes, amused themselves there with playing at cards. A certain "Chih Poh-i once passed the night there, reciting the classics by the "light of a torch, when towards midnight over ten people appeared

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[1] 成帝河平元年長安男子石良劉音相與同居、有如人狀在其室中、擊之爲狗、走出去。後有數人、被甲持兵弩、至良家、良等格擊、或死、或傷、皆狗也。自二月至六月乃止. Books of the Early Han Dynasty, ch. 27, II, l. 32.

"sat down at his side, and played a rubber. Poh-i stealthily lighted "them with the torch, and recognized them as a pack of dogs. He "brandished the torch to make it flame up, and by mistake singed "their clothes, which then spread a stench like burning hair. Having "a knife in his bosom, he seized one of the men, and stabbed him. "He uttered a human cry, but, on dying, turned into a dog. "All the rest ran away" [1].

"Under the T'ang dynasty", thus another author relates, "there "existed in the Ching yuen period (A.D. 785—804) one Mr. Han, "Secretary to the Court of Revision. He resided temporarily in "the south of the Si-ho region, and there possessed a horse, a "most noble and mettlesome creature. One fine morning this animal "stands in the stable with stooped head, sweating and panting as "if exhausted by a long ride. The astonished groom reports the "matter to his master, who turns his anger against him, saying: "'Whose fault is it that horse-thieves ride out in the night on my "steed and exhaust it?' He then orders him to be cudgeled, and "the groom having no arguments to defend himself with, has to "submit patiently to this treatment.

"Next morning he finds the horse sweating and panting again. "Struck with silent astonishment stands the groom, and nobody "can suggest an explanation of the matter. So he lays himself "down that night at the closed stable door, to watch the horse "through the crevice. Suddenly he sees the black dog which "Mr. Han keeps, enter the stable, barking and leaping, and it "changes into a man with a deep black dress on, and a hat "of the same colour. That man saddles the horse, mounts it, "and galops off. At the gate of the house, which is very high, "as is also the surrounding wall, the black man gives the horse "the whip, thus making it leap the gate with a bound. Then

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[1] 林慮山下有一亭、人每過此宿者輒病死。云嘗有十餘人男女雜合、衣或白或黃、輒蒲博相戲。時有郅伯夷者宿於此亭、明燭而坐誦經、至中夜忽有十餘人來、與伯夷並坐蒲博。伯夷密以燭照之、乃是羣犬。因執燭起陽、誤以燭燒其衣、作燃毛氣。伯夷懷刀捉一人刺之。初作人喚、遂死成犬。餘悉走去. *Sheu shen heu ki*, ch. 9.

"off he rides; and on coming back he alights, unsaddles the animal, "and barking and jumping as before, re-assumes his dog's form. "Much scared and astonished is the groom at all this, but he "lacks the courage to say a word about it.

"Thus time goes on, until one evening the dog rides off again, "and returns at daybreak. Just then the weather clears up after "some showers, and the track of the horse being visible on "the ground over the whole way it has made, the groom follows "it, and is thus led in a southern direction to the premises of an "old grave, over ten miles off. The prints being lost here, the "groom builds a small shed of grass on the spot, and next evening "conceals himself in it to watch. Towards midnight the black man "appears on horseback. He alights, ties the horse to a wild tree, "and enters the grave, where he has a most merry conversation "with several other individuals. The groom, crouched in the shed, "overhears all they say, but he dares not stir ere the man in "black announces towards daybreak that he is going, and is seen "out of the grave by several persons.

"No sooner is that man in the open, than a person in a grey "hairy dress asks him: 'Where is the list of names of the "Han family?' 'I have concealed it under the mortar stone', is "the answer, 'do not be anxious about it'. He with the hairy "coat then replies: 'Beware of losing it, lest my relations remain "incomplete', upon which the other retorts: 'I will attend to "your hint'. 'But', thus asks the man with the hairy dress again, "'has Han's youngest son been already given a name?' 'Not yet', "is the answer, 'but as soon as he gets one I will not forget to "inscribe it immediately in the list'. 'Come back here to-morrow "night for a merry chat', adds the hairy-coated man, and on these "words the black one spurs his horse, and is off.

"At sunrise the groom returns home, and reveals the matter to his "master. Forthwith Han orders some meat to be brought, allures "the dog with it, and ties it up; then passing to the other point "revealed to him, he examines the mortar stone, and discovers an "inscribed scroll under it, bearing the names of Han and all his "brothers, his wife, children and servants, not one excepted. It was "the list of names of the Han family, of which Grey Coat had "spoken; and the only one not yet inscribed in it was the son "born one month before, who could not be any other than the "said youngest son to whom no name had as yet been given, and "whom the two men had been speaking about. Greatly surprised,

"Han ordered the dog to be taken to the courtyard. They there "whipped it to death, cooked its flesh and regaled the servants "with it; then with more than ten strong men of the neighbourhood, "armed with bows, arrows, spears and clubs, they repaired to that "old grave in the south. Opening it, they found it occupied by "several beings with dog's hair. Under general surprise they destroyed "them to the last, and returned home" [1].

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[1] 唐貞元中有大理評事韓生者。僑居西河郡南、有一馬、甚豪駿。嘗一日清晨忽委首于櫪、汗而且喘若涉遠而怠者。圉人怪之、具白于韓生、韓生怒曰、若盜馬夜出、使吾馬力殆、誰之罪。乃令扑焉、圉人無以辭、遂受扑。

至明日其馬又汗而喘。圉人竊異之、莫可測。是夕圉人臥於廐舍闔扉、乃於隙中窺之。忽見韓生所畜黑犬至廐中、且嗥且躍、俄化爲一丈夫、衣冠盡黑。既挾鞍致馬上駕而去。行至門、門垣甚高、其黑衣人以鞭擊馬、躍而過。黑衣者乘馬而去、過來既下馬解鞍、其黑衣人又嗥躍還化爲犬。圉人驚異、不敢洩于人。

後一夕黑犬又駕馬而去、逮曉方歸。圉人因尋馬蹤、以天雨新霽歷歷可辨、直至南十餘里一古墓前。馬跡方絶、圉人乃結茅齋於墓側、來夕先止於齋中以伺之。夜將分黑衣人果駕馬而來。下馬、繫于野樹、其人入墓、與數輩笑言極歡。圉人在茅齋中俯而聽之、不敢動、近日頃黑衣人告去、數輩送出墓。

至於野有一褐衣者顧謂黑衣人曰、韓氏名籍今安在。黑衣人曰、吾已收在擣練石下、吾子無以爲憂。褐衣者曰、愼毋泄泄、則吾屬不全矣、黑衣人曰、謹受教。褐衣者曰、韓氏稚兒有字乎。曰未也、吾伺有字卽編于名籍不敢忘。褐衣者曰、明夕再來當得共笑語、而黑衣催去。

及曉圉者歸、遂以其事密告於韓生。生卽命

4. Were-foxes.

Though the belief in foxes turning themselves into men, or thus metamorphosed by the agency of some human soul, is undoubtedly very ancient, its prevalence cannot be traced in Chinese literature before the early centuries of our era. On page 182 we saw that in the fourth century Koh Hung declared the fox, and the wolf, his congener, to be transmutable into men, provided they were not younger than five hundred years. Contemporary fabulists mention sundry cases of transformations from and into foxes as having taken place many years before that. Yü Pao, for example, wrote:

"In the Kien ngan period of the Later Han dynasty (A.D. "196—220), when one Ch'en Sien, a native of the P'ei-kwoh "region, was governor of Si-hai (the districts about Koko-nor?), "it happened that his subordinate Wang Ling-hiao ran away for "no reason at all. Sien intended to punish him with death there- "fore, when again, after a short time, he deserted. As he did not "see him appear, Sien imprisoned his wife; but when this woman "had told him the truth about all he asked her, he exclaimed: "'To be sure, it is some demon that has carried that man away; "let us seek him'. And at the head of several dozen footmen "and riders he ransacks the environs all around the city with "hunting-hounds, and finds Ling-hiao in an empty grave. The "hubbub of the men and the hounds amazes him, and he flees, but "Sien orders him to be seized and taken home. His shape is "quite that of a fox, and does not in any respect correspond to "the human form, and no other sounds does he utter but O-tszĕ "O-tszĕ (Red), which is a name for foxes. After ten days or so he "gradually recovers consciousness, and then he relates the following:

肉、誘其犬、犬既至因以繩系、乃次所聞、遂窮擣練石下、果得一軸書、具載韓氏兄弟妻子家僮名氏紀莫不具。蓋所謂韓氏名籍也、有子生一月矣、獨此子不書、所謂稚兒未字也。韓生大異、命致犬于庭。鞭而殺之、熟其肉以食家僮、已而率鄰居士子十餘輩、執弧矢兵杖、至郡南古墓前。發其墓、墓中有數犬毛狀。皆異盡殺之以歸. *Süen-shih chi.*

"'When the fox came to me for the first time, it assumed "the shape of a lovely woman in a fowl-house standing in a "hidden corner of my dwelling. She told me she bore the name "of O-tszĕ, and called me; and when she had done so more than "once, I followed her, and she became my wife. At night I "frequently accompanied her to her dwelling, without being "perceived by the dogs we met; the pleasures I enjoyed with her "were incomparably delightful'. A Taoist doctor declared that vixen "to be a mountain-devil. The Description of Famous Mountains "says, that the fox is a lewd wife, who lived in remotest times and "bore the name of O-tszĕ; she adopted the fox shape, and hence "it is that such spooks often call themselves O-tszĕ" [1].

The writings of the same author contain sundry other tales which show clearly that the belief in were-foxes and their tricks was most general in his time; and they acquaint us with some other superstitions worthy of attention. "On the tomb of King "Hwui of the realm of Yen (who reigned from 277 to 270 B.C.) "foxes lived, over a thousand years old. Peerless metamorphosed "spiritual beings they were, such as seldom exist in this world. "When they heard of Chang Hwa, the Minister of Works of the "Tsin dynasty (Book I, p. 422), an accomplished scholar, rich "in talents, they transformed themselves into two youthful students "with extraordinary capacities and fine features, mounted on

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[1] 後漢建安中沛國郡陳羨爲西海都尉、其部曲王靈孝無故逃去。羨欲殺之、居無何孝復逃走。羨久不見、囚其婦、婦以實對、羨曰、是必魅將去、當求之。因將步騎數十領獵犬周旋于城外求索、果見孝于空冢中。聞人犬聲、怪遂避去、羨使人扶孝以歸。其形頗象狐矣、略不復與人相應、但啼呼阿紫阿紫、狐字也。後十餘日乃稍稍了悟、云、

狐始來時、於室曲角雞栖間作好婦形。自稱阿紫、招我、如此非一、忽然便隨去、卽爲妻。暮輒與共還其家、遇狗不覺云、樂無比也。道士云、此山魅也。名山記曰、狐者先古之淫婦也、其名曰阿紫、化而爲狐、故其怪多自稱阿紫. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 18.

"horseback, and rode out. Before the grave, they pass along the "spirit of the glorification-tree, who asks them: 'Where are you "going?' 'We have heard of Chang Hwa, the Minister of Tsin; "so scholarly, so talented he is that we are setting out for his "dwelling, to discourse with him'. On which the spirit of the "tree retorts: 'He is so incomparably clever that, if you go, "you will be sure to forfeit your bodies, and I also shall incur "evil for it. Disregard my advice, and a day of repentance will "come'. But the foxes answer not; they pass on, and holding "the thornbridles, they call on Hwa, who introduces them into "his house.

"Three days long they discourse with him, and they are not "checkmated. Thus Hwa begins to entertain serious suspicions, and "feels sure they are spooks. He has a sleeping-place swept clean "for them, and invites them to stay; and when they have entered, "he stations a watch on the spot. Just then one Lei Khung-"chang calls on him. As Hwa tells him of the two scholars, "and of his conviction that they are spooks, this man has an "outburst of laughter. 'You', he exclaims, 'you, who are the chief "pillar and the main beam of the State; you, who vomit out or "eat (reject or accept) all scholars appointed for official employ, "placing the clever in active service, and dismissing the worth-"less — how can you feel any animosity against the capacities "and attainments of others? He who decries others as spooks "on account of his own lack of talents, makes himself an object "of derision for all the world. If you suspect them, well, call the "hounds and try what they are'.

"Hwa now orders out the hounds; but during all the time the "experiment lasts, the two men do not show the slightest fear. "This enhances Hwa's rage. 'To be sure', he exclaims, 'spectres "of the true sort they are. If a hundred years old, they must "change their shape in the sight of hounds; if they are spooks of "a thousand years, they must change when fire produced by an "animated tree of the same old age shines on them'. 'Where to "find such a tree?' Khung-chang asks. 'People say', thus is the "answer, 'there is a glorification-tree before the tomb of Hwui, "the king of Yen, which has that age'. And they send some servants "thither to fetch it.

"When these men come to the tree, a young child in blue "garments is sitting in a cavity of it. It asks them what they come "for. 'Chang, the Minister', they reply, 'has two young men with

"him, so intelligent, and discussing so cleverly, that he suspects "them to be spooks; so he has ordered us to fetch this glorifi- "cation-tree, to shine upon them'. 'So those old foxes have "disregarded my advice, ignoramuses that they are!' exclaims he "with the blue clothes, 'and the evil created thereby extends to "me already to-day; how then will they possibly escape it!' Crying "and weeping, he vanishes from view. The servants fell the tree, "and blood gushes out of it. They take it home, where it is "kindled, and the spectres accordingly change their shape. Hwa "then cooks them" [1].

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[1] 燕惠王墓上有狐狸、已經千餘歲。神變無比、世罕有之。聞晉司空張華博學多才、狐狸化爲二少年書生、才容奇美、乘馬而出。墓前過去華表神、謂曰、子欲何之。狸曰、我聞晉司空張華、博學多才、今欲詣門與之論談。木精曰、張司空之才難可比也、若去非但喪汝二軀、我亦遭累、不取吾言終有悔日。狸不答而去、乃持刺謁華、華引入。

談論三日、不屈。華甚疑之、此必妖也。乃掃榻延留、留入防禦。時雷孔章來訪華、華以書生白之此必妖異、孔章聞此語、忽然大笑。曰、公爲國之棟梁、吐食納士、賢者進用、不肖者黜退、何故妬賢嫉能不。以已之不才而言人之妖異、如此爲天下笑耳。若疑之、何不呼獵犬試之。

乃命犬、已試竟無憚色。華益怒。曰、此必眞妖也。乃曰、是百年之精、獵犬見之卽變、若千年之妖、以千年神木火照之卽變。章曰、千年神木何由可得。華曰、世說燕惠王塚前有華表木、已經千年。發走爲使往取其木。

使欲至木所、空中有一青衣小兒。來問使曰、君何來也。使曰、張司空忽有二少年、多才巧辭、疑是妖異、使我取華表照之。青衣曰、老狸不智、不聽我言、今日禍已及我、其可逃乎。乃發聲而泣、倏然不見。使乃伐其木、木中血流。使將木歸、照

The fact, which comes out from the two above legends, that foxes habitually live in old caved-in graves, explains why anthropomorphosis is connected particularly in China with these animals. In those haunts, Reynard borrows the human form from the buried corpse by bringing himself in close contact with it, thus instilling into himself the soul-substance contained in those remains. Yü Pao brings out by one of his tales that this was indeed the prevailing idea of his time. "In times of yore, the Buddhist "monk Chi-hüen, a native of Ho-shoh, led a life of purity and "obedience to the Commandments. He wore no silk, but linen; "he tramped from town to town, never lodging in convents within "the cities, but always in mountain-forests abroad. Once he passes "the night in a grave-copse, ten miles east of the city of Kiang-"cheu (in Shansi). By the light of the moon, which shines as "bright as if it were daytime, he sees a wild fox in the copse, "which places withered bones and a skull upon its head, and "then shakes in such a way that the bones are flung on all "sides; and it does this three or four times consecutively, until "the movements of the head no longer make them fall. Then "the fox accoutres its body with grass and leaves, and walking "round the spot, adopts the forms of a woman with eyebrows and "eyes as lovely as if they were painted; never did this world see "her like. Plain and unadorned is her dress. She places herself in "the road, behaving as if she feels uneasy, when suddenly the trampling "of a horses hoofs resounds from the north-west. This makes the "woman set up a wailing and weeping so piteous, that it is im-"possible to hear it without emotion. A man on horseback appears, "and seeing her thus cry and in tears, he alights. 'Lady', says he, "'what brings you here in the dead of night? What do you "want? May I hear it?' And the woman restrains her tears, "and says:

"'I lived in Yih-cheu. There I was married by my parents, two "years ago, to one of the Chang family, living here by the north "gate; but my fate as a young wife was by no means happy. "My husband died an untimely death last year, and thus ruined, "thus left without any support, I set out for the far country of "my paternal home. But I do not know the road thither, and this "makes me so sad; indeed, whom shall I ask to tell it me?' 'You

之、其精乃變。華乃烹之. *Sheu shen ki*, the edition in eight chapters, ch. 4.

"want to return to your native place', says the other, 'well, there "is nothing so simple as that. I am a Yih-cheu official, and was "despatched from there the other day with a message; I am now "on the road back, and if you do not object against the rather "rough work of horse-driving, I will give up my horse to you. Be so "kind as to mount, and take the road there before us'. The woman "withholds her tears, and says gratefully: 'If I may accept the "favour you show me, I shall never forget it'. He invites her to "place herself in the saddle, but at that moment Chi-hüen steps "forth from the grave-copse. 'This is no human being', he shouts "to the military message-bearer, 'she is a metamorphosed wicked "fox. If you do not believe me, then please stay a little while; "I will re-transform her before your eyes'. He makes a mystic "sign (mudra) with his fingers, utters a genuine formula (dhārani), "brandishes his crosier, and exclaims at the top of his voice: 'Why "do not you forthwith return to your original form?' The woman "faints miserably, falls down, changes into an old vixen, and expires. "Her flesh and blood flow away as one fluid, and all that remains "on the body of the fox is the dry bones with the skull, the "grass and the leaves. On seeing these things, the military man is "no longer sceptic. He salutes the monk several times by kneeling "down and knocking his head against the ground, and passes on "with sighs of astonishment and admiration" [1].

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[1] 昔僧志玄、河朔人也、持清潔戒行。不衣紗穀、惟着布衣、行歷州邑不住城中寺宇、惟宿郭外山林。至絳州城東十里夜宿於墓林下。月明如晝、忽見一野狐於林下、將枯骨髑髏安頭上、便搖之、落者棄却、如此三四度、搖之不落。乃取草葉裝束於身體、逡巡化爲一女子、眉目如畫、世間無比。着素衣。於行路立、猶未定、忽聞東北上有鞍馬行聲。此女子便作哭泣、哀悲不堪聽。俄有一人乘馬而來、見女子哀泣、下馬曰、娘子深夜何故在此、意如何、僕願聞之。女子掩泣而對曰、

妾住易州。前年爲父母聘於北門張氏、爲新婦不幸。妾夫去歲早亡、家事淪落、無所依、投尊堂

The superstition that foxes may transform themselves into men by the aid of soul-containing human bones, especially by means of the skull, which is the principal part of the skeleton, was formulated by an author of the eighth century in the following words: "It is an old saying that the wild fox bears the name of "Tszĕ, Red. At night he strikes fire out of his tail. When he "desires to appear as a spook, he puts a human skull on his head "and salutes the Great Bear constellation, and the transformation "is then effected as soon as the skull ceases to fall" [1]. It would be wrong to suppose that Master Reynard, when taking human forms, does so only for a time relatively short. Fox-mythology furnishes many instances of his having lived a full lifetime as a man, and remaining unmasked till after his death. "Hu Tao-hiah", thus *e. g.* we read in the *I yuen*, "pretended to be a native of "Kwang-ling. He was addicted to chant and music, and to the "exercise of the medical art. A rank smell he had about him, "against the dangerous consequences of which he sought to protect "himself by using renowned aromatics, for he feared nothing like "fierce dogs. Having calculated his own death-day, he said to his "pupils: 'When I draw my last breath, you must prepare my "body for the grave without allowing any dog to see it'. He "died at the south side of the mounts, and having coffined him, "they felt that the coffin was empty. Immediately they opened it,

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遠地。緣女子不悉路途所以悲恨、若何問之。使人曰、若要還鄉亦小事、某是易州等職、昨因差使今却返易州、娘子若不嫌鞭馬稍粗、僕願輒借。便請上馬赴前程。女子乃收泪、謝曰、若能如此負戴德、何可忘也。言訖請娘子上馬之次、志玄從墓林而出。語軍使曰、此非人類、是妖狐化之、君若不信可住少時、當與君變却。於是志玄結印、口誦眞言、振錫、大喝、何不速變本形。女子悶絶而倒、化爲老狐而死。鮮血交流、枯骨髑髏草葉尙滿其身。軍人見之方信是實。遂頂禮再拜、嗟訝而去. *Sheu shen ki*, the edition in eight chapters; ch. 7.

[1] 舊說野狐名紫。狐夜擊尾火出。將爲怪必戴髑髏、拜北斗、髑髏不墜則化爲人矣. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 15.

"and saw no corpse. Everybody then proclaimed him to have "been a fox" [1].

Even without collating them with other legends referring to the fox, easily accessible in Chinese literature, the above pages give the reader all the main features of China's early were-fox lore. They do not represent were-foxes as creatures positively wicked and enemical to man, for, in fact, Reynard as a beast is not ferocious or dangerous. But many tales in the same domain, perhaps their majority, depict him as a malicious being, holding rank with the tiger, the wolf and other animals among the evil demons. It is in this aspect especially that he lives in Chinese thought and tradition, so that we shall have to occupy ourselves with him again in a chapter on Animal demons, inserted in Part II of this Book.

Just now, in the tale of Hu Tao-hiah, we saw the fox as a man bearing the tribal name of Hu 胡. This brings us on the track of one of Reynard's many tricks. Often, in fact, as authors assure us, he intrudes himself into human society as a bearer of that surname, or of the personal name of O-hu 阿胡, thus cleverly disguising his real name Fox 狐, which is pronounced likewise hu. In most cases this trick is efficacious, the family-name Hu being borne in China by too many people to arouse suspicion. But only people of small intellect are deceived by it, and clever men are generally watchful against all members of the Hu tribe they come in contact with.

That foxish artifice to dissimulate his identity under a pseudonym, without lying, was known already in Yü Pao's time. He tells us that "there lived in the Wu region a man of letters, a hoary-"headed sire, named Hu the Doctor. He occupied himself with "giving instruction to students. Suddenly he was seen no more. "Then on the ninth day of the ninth month the scholars together "climbed the hills for a stroll. There a noise as if some one were "explaining a book, reached their ears. They told their servants to "see where it came from, and these men saw in an empty grave "a pack of foxes, drawn up in files. On seeing people come, they

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[1] 胡道洽自云廣陵人。好音樂醫術之事。體有臊氣、恆以名香自防、惟忌猛犬。自審死日、戒弟子曰、氣絶便殯勿令狗見我尸也。死于山陽、歛畢覺棺空。卽開看、不見尸體。時人咸謂狐也. KK. ch. 447.

"immediately ran off, and an old fox was the only one which "did not decamp. In him they recognized the hoary-headed book-"man" [1].

5. Man-bears.

That the belief in man-bears is very old, we saw on page 159, where we stated that the soul of a dead man, haunting the bedroom of the ailing prince of Tsin in the shape of a bear, forms the topic of an episode recorded in the *Tso ch'wen* among the events of the year 534 before our era. Tszĕ-ch'an, who, as we saw in the same place, was consulted about this spook by Han Süen-tszĕ [2], declared it to be the soul of a progenitor of the Hia dynasty, banished more than seventeen hundred years previously for mis-management of works against terrible floods harrassing the Empire at that time (comp. B. I, p. 956). "Anciently", he said, "when Yao imprisoned (or killed?) Kwun on mount Yü, "his soul (shen) changed into a yellow bear, and in this shape "entered into the abyss of Yü. In the reign of the House of Hia "he was actually an object of sacrificial worship in the suburbs, "and the three dynasties (of Hia, Shang and Cheu) all have "sacrificed there to him; the kingdom of Tsin is now at the head "of a confederation; perhaps it has not fulfilled that duty as yet?' "Han Süen-tszĕ thereupon presented the Hia sacrifice in the suburb, "on which the Ruler became a little better" [3].

In spite of the oldness of the belief in were-bears, Bruin as a versipellis never played a part of importance in Chinese life and thought, and tales referring to him in that character are scarce in the books. This is, of course, not so much ascribable to lack or

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[1] 吳中有一書生、皓首、稱胡博士。教授諸生。忽復不見。九月初九日士人相與登山遊觀。聞講書聲。命僕尋之、見空冢中羣狐羅列。見人卽走、老狐獨不去。乃是皓首書生. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 18.

[2] 韓宣子.

[3] 昔堯殛鯀於羽山、其神化爲黃熊、以入於羽淵。實爲夏郊、三代祀之、晉爲盟主、其或者未之祀也乎。韓子祀夏郊、晉侯有間. Seventh year of the ruler Chao's reign.

superstition as to lack of bears, these animals having apparently always been pretty rare in historical China, or not having existed at all in many parts. The *I yuen* relates of "a man, named "Hwang Siu, of Kao-p'ing in Shao-ling (Hunan province), who "entered the mountains in the third year of the Yuen kia period "(A.D. 426), and did not come back for a month. His son Ken-"sheng, in search of him, found him cowered down in a hollow "tree, covered from head to waist with hair in colour like that of "a bear. On his asking him how he got in that condition, he said: "'It is a punishment inflicted on me by heaven; you will have "to go from here alone'. Sheng burst into piteous wailing, and went "home. After a year, the woodcutters saw that his form had become "in every respect that of a bear" [1].

6. Were-stags.

References to anthropomorphous stags or to stag-shaped men we have not found in Chinese literature prior to the fourth century. Koh Hung is the first to mention them. He tells us of "one Chang Kai-tah and one Ngeu Kao-ch'ing, two men giving "themselves up to the refining of their thoughts and reflections in "a grotto in the Yün-t'ai mounts, before whom unawares a man "appeared, dressed in a single robe of yellow silk and a headkerchief "of Dolichos cloth. 'Excuse me, Taoist doctors', said he, 'this "is a hard and bitter life of seclusion'; but the two men looked "into a mirror, and discovered therein that they had to do with "a stag. 'You are an old mountain-deer', they said, 'how dare "you assume human forms?' and before they had spoken these "words, the visitor turned into a stag and careered off" [2].

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[1] 邵陵高平黃秀以宋元嘉三年入山、經月不還。其兒根生尋覓、見秀蹲空樹中、從頭至腰毛色如熊。問其何故、答曰、天謫我如此、汝但自去。生哀慟而歸。逾年伐山人見其形盡爲熊矣. K K, ch. 442.

[2] 昔張盍蹔及偶高成二人並精思於雲臺山石室中、忽有一人、著黃練單衣葛巾往到其前。曰、勞乎道士、乃辛苦幽隱、於是二人顧視鏡中、乃

It was Koh Hung's firm opinion that stags, to be able to thus undergo transformation, had to be extremely old. "Tigers", he wrote, "and stags and hares, can all live a thousand years, and "of those which have reached the full age of five hundred, the "hair turns white. If they can attain the last-named age, they are "also able to be metamorphosed" [1].

An old legend of a man changed into a stag we have in the *I yuen*. "One P'eng Shi, from Loh-ngan in the P'o-yang region "(in Kiangsi province), a hunter by occupation, lives in the Hien "khang period (A.D. 335—343), and is accompanied by his son "whenever he goes up country. Once he stumbles, falls down, and "changes into a stag, which jumps about and galops off. His son "gives up hunting for the whole of his life, but his grandson takes "up the business anew. Once he shoots a white stag with a Taoist "charm of the seven stars (the Greater Bear) between its antlers, "and his grandfather's names and abode, as also his year and "month (of birth). This sight arouses in him remorse to such a "degree that he gives up hunting for ever" [2].

Koh Hung's legend of the two Taoist hermits with the stag suggests that the stag is in China suspected of sometimes seeking intercourse with men with objects not quite innocent, and intended to disturb their religious zeal. On the other hand we have tales that represent it as having resorted to men in perfect good faith, in order to embrace their life of religious ascetism, and thus walk by their help in the path of salvation. "In mount Sung", thus we read, "an aged Buddhist monk had constructed a straw hut, where, "between shrubs and creepers, he led a life of obedience to the

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是鹿也。因問之曰、汝是山中老鹿、何敢詐爲人形、言未絶而來人卽成鹿而走去. *Pao P'oh-tszě*, ch. 4, section 登涉.

[1] 虎及鹿兎皆壽千歲、滿五百歲者其毛色白。能壽五百歲者則能變化. The same work, ch. 1, sect. 對俗.

[2] 鄱陽樂安彭世晉咸康中以獵射爲業、每入山與子俱行。後忽蹶然而倒、化成一鹿、跳躍而去。其子終身不復弋獵、至孫却習其事。曾射一鹿、兩角間有道家七星符、并其祖名字及鄉居年月焉。覩之悔懊、自此永斷射獵. K K, ch. 443.

"Commandments, without ever going out. Unexpectedly he beholds "a young lad, who greets him, and entreats him to make him "his disciple. But the anchorite goes on reciting his holy books "without looking up. So the boy stands there from morn till "eve, and then the monk asks him: 'My son, what have you "come to these high mountains for, where human footprints are "scarcely ever seen? Why do you desire to become my disciple?' "'I have been living on this hill', he answers; my parents are "dead, so that I am without any protectors and am so young. "I feel sure I deserve this fate for not having cultivated virtue "in my previous existences; therefore I have vowed to abjure "wordliness and to seek a Master; verily, I long to cultivate "the blissful state of the world to come'. 'But are you able to "do it?' asks the monk. 'Should my words not be consonant "with my heart', is the answer, 'then may not only you, Master, "but also Emperor Heaven and Empress Earth withhold from me "their pardon'.

"The monk finds him clever and intelligent, and sees in him "a person with much disposition for good. He gives him the "tonsure, and so energetic and industrious does he prove as a "disciple, that his likes are but seldom found. When he trains other "monks in the Law, they are unable to contradict him, and when "he asks the brethren for instruction in the doctrines, they never "checkmate him. No wonder that the old monk appreciates him "highly, nay, he regards him as a saint and a sage.

"Thus many years go on, till in a frosty autumn the leaves of "the trees are falling. A cold breeze is drearily blowing, and in "the glens it is all bright freezing weather, when suddenly the "young monk scans the four points of the compass and screams "out in a distinct voice: 'In the depth of the mountains I grew "up to old age; why did I leave them for that one and only "Church? I waver as to whether I shall betake myself to my "companions of old, and give up tormenting my soul any longer "from morn till eve'. Then again he sends forth a protracted scream, "and after a while a troop of stags appears, and runs past the "spot. Then the young man begins to hop; he throws off his "religious garb, changes into a stag, joins the troop with a bound, "and is off" [1].

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[1] 嵩山內有一老僧、結茅居薜蘿間修持、不出。忽見一小兒、獨叅禮、懇求爲弟子。僧但誦經不

7. Were-monkeys.

Nor is the monkey, resembling man, as it does, more than any other animal in outward appearance and intelligence, looked for in vain in the Chinese list of turncoats. In the Annals of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yueh, which were written in the first century of our era, we are told that Keu Tsien [1], who ruled Yueh in the fifth century before Christ, on being told by his Minister of a

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顧。其小兒自旦至暮不退、僧乃問之曰、此深山內人跡甚稀、小兒因何至、又因何求爲弟子。小兒曰、本居山前、父母皆喪、幼失所依。必是前生不修善果所致、今是以發願捨離塵俗來求我師、實欲修來世福業也。僧曰、能如是耶。小兒曰、若心與言違、皇天后土自不容耳、不惟我師不容也。

僧察其敏悟、知有善緣。遂與落髮、小兒爲弟子後精進勤劬、罕有倫等。或演法于僧、僧不能對、或問道于僧、僧不能折。老僧深重之、以爲聖賢也。

後數年、時在素秋、萬木凋落。凉風悲起、磎谷凄清、忽慨然四望、朗吟曰、我本長生深山內、更何入他不二門、爭如訪取舊時伴、休更朝夕勞神魂。吟訖復長嘯、良久有一群鹿過。小兒躍然脫僧衣、化一鹿、跳躍隨羣而去. *Siao siang luh* 瀟湘錄, mentioned in the Catalogue of the Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty (ch. 59, l. 20) as a work in ten chapters, by one Liu Siang 柳祥; but Ch'en Chen-sun 陳振孫, alias Chih-chai 直齋, of the Sung dynasty, says in his bibliography known as *Chih-chai shu luh kiai t'i* 直齋書錄解題, "Annotated Catalogue of Chih-chai", in twenty-two chapters, that a certain Li Yin 李隱 is the author of it: see *Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 215, l. 13. From several dates given in the work, we conclude that it must have been written towards the close of the reign of the T'ang dynasty. It is one of the sources from which the compilers of the K K have copiously drawn; the above tale is from ch. 443 of this compendium.

1 勾踐.

certain lady versed in the noble art of fencing and fighting, "sent "a messenger to her, with orders to bring her to Court, to be "interrogated there about the use of swords and spears. The "lady set out for the north to appear before His Majesty, and fell "in on the way thither with an old man, who told her he was a "Mr. Yuen. 'I have heard', said he, 'of your dexterity in the use "of the sword; please show me one single proof of it'. On which "the dame answered: 'I am not so bold as to conceal my "capacities; put me to the test, Sir'. At these words Mr. Yuen "grasped a lin-yü bamboo stem and swung about on a twig "of it, which, coming down, was seized immediately by the woman, "so that Mr. Yuen was hurled into a tree and changed into a "white monkey. Then the lady took leave of him, and pursued "her journey" [1].

To judge from this legend, as also from some others given in books, superstition and tradition ascribed the capacity of transformation into men especially to old monkeys, preferably as old as Methuselah, the product of the metamorphosis then being a greybeard hoary with age. The author of the *Shuh i ki*, who lived in the sixth century, was evidently imbued with these ideas when he asserted "that monkeys, when five hundred years old, "change into kioh (certain large gibbons), which become old men "when they attain the age of a thousand years" [2]. It is worthy of consideration that the monkey-man of the Wu and Yueh Annals called himself a member of the Yuen tribe. This name (袁) has the same pronunciation as a word denoting a certain monkey or gibbon species, and its written form occurs, moreover, as principal component in the written name of that animal (猿). In subsequent ages it continues a feature of monkey-myth to represent were-monkeys as persons bearing that tribal name, just as man-foxes were, as we saw on page 195, often believed to be members of the Hu tribe.

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[1] 越王乃使使聘之、問以劍戟之術。處女將北見於王、道逢一翁、自稱曰袁公。問於處女、吾聞子善劍、願一見之。女曰、妾不敢有所隱、惟公試之。於是袁公卽杖筰箊竹、竹枝上頭、橋末墮地、女卽捷末、袁公則飛上樹、變爲白猿。遂別去. Wu *Yueh ch'un-ts'iu*, ch. V, second part.

[2] 猿五百歲化爲玃、玃千歲化爲老人. The first half.

As well as the fox and the stag, the monkey is notorious in Chinese mythology for embracing sometimes, in a human shape, Buddhist religious life and ascetism. In this virtuous character we find him *e. g.* in the *Süen-shih chi*, in a tale too long and tedious to insert and furnishing no particulars of interest for oriental folklore or animism. Furthermore, both in his own shape and in that of man, the monkey often acts as a dangerous devil, in which character we shall meet him anew in our chapter on Animal Demons, in Part II.

8. Were-rats.

"The slave-maid of Wei Kien-tsu of Shang-yü, named P'i-nah, "was a beauty. One Sü Mih was enamored of her; which induced "a rat to assume her shape and visit him in bed. But doubts "arose in him as to her identity. So he stroked her four limbs, "and felt they contracted under his hand, till she was a rat again, "which ran away"[1].

"The family of one Chu Jen had lived as farmers at the foot "of mount Sung for a series of generations. Suddenly he missed his "first-born boy of five. He sought for him for more than ten years, "but he could not find out whether he was alive or dead.

"One day, a Buddhist monk wanders past, and stops at his door, "accompanied by a disciple whose appearance and features are "strikingly like those of the lost child. Jen asks the monk to walk "in; he places a meal before him, and after a while he says: "'Teacher, both in manners and features your disciple is like my "first-born son whom I lost ten years ago'. The monk is amazed, "and rising to his feet, says: 'Thirty years long I have lived "in the wild jungle of mount Sung, and ten years have gone

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[1] 上虞魏虔祖婢、名皮納、有色。徐密樂之、鼠乃託爲其形而就密宿。密心疑之。以手摩其四體、便覺縮小、因化爲鼠而走. *Yiu ming luh* 幽明錄, a work mentioned in the Catalogue of the Books of the Sui Dynasty (ch. 33, l 20) as consisting of twenty chapters, ascribed to Liu I-khing 劉義慶, a prince of the House of Sung living from 403 to 444, whose biography is contained in chapter 51 of the Books of that dynasty. I do not know whether it still exists. It is quoted very often in the K K, and the above extract is from ch. 440 of this work

"by since this disciple came to me, weeping and crying. I asked "him what was the matter with him, but he showed all the "bewilderment of tender youth, and could not well explain from "where he came. I brought him up, I gave him the tonsure, and "he is now so clever and bright that nobody equals him; I have "always deemed him to be a sage. If he is your son, then try to "find it out by thoroughly examining him yourself'.

"Jen and his family now set to work to interrogate and examine "their child. 'He had a black mark on his back', the mother says, "and on searching his body all over, they find that mark, which "convinces them that he really is their child. Father, mother, and "all the family burst into wailing, and the monk departs, leaving "the boy with his parents.

"The parents keep him at home, and educate him in the same "way as they do their other sons; but whenever the night comes he "disappears, to return at daybreak. This having gone on so for two "or three years, the parents begin to suspect him of playing the "thief; they watch him, and perceive that he changes every night "into a rat, which runs away from home and comes back in the "morning. Their interrogations do not lead to any confessions, but "after a long lapse of time he says: 'I am no son of yours, I am "a king of the rats under mount Sung. The rats there, my subjects, "have seen me, and so I can come back here no more'. His "parents think him in a fit of mental derangement; but that same "evening he turns into a rat, and runs away" [1].

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[1] 朱仁者世居嵩山下耕耘爲業。後仁忽失一幼子、年方五歲。求尋十餘年、終不知存亡。

後一日有僧經遊造其門、攜一弟子、其形容似仁所失之幼子也。仁遂延僧於內、設供養、良久問僧曰、師此弟子觀其儀貌稍是余家十年前所失一幼子也。僧驚起問仁曰、僧住嵩山蓽蘿內三十年矣、十年前偶此弟子悲號來投我。我問其故、此弟子方孩幼迷、其蹤由不甚明。僧因養育之、及與落髮、今聰悟無敵、僧常疑是一聖人也。君子乎、試自熟驗察之。

仁乃與家屬共詢問察視。其母言、吾子背上有一黶記、逡巡驗得、實是親子。父母家屬一

9. Domestic Animals as Were-beasts.

The antiquity of the belief in were-horses may be concluded from the fact that in the Bamboo Annals, a collection of ancient documents which, as stated on page 416 of Book I, were discovered in the grave of a king in A.D. 279, we find it recorded "that in "the thirty-second year of the reign of king Süen (B.C. 795) a horse "changed into a man" [1]. This event is hardly more astounding than that of a steed which, according to the same work, "changed five years after into a fox" [2]. Were-horses of an origin somewhat different were, a thousand years later, the two babies that, according to the Standard Annals of that time, "were born of horses in the "Ho-poh region and in Ch'ang-ngan, respectively in the second "year of the Khien fu period (A.D. 875) and in the first year "of that styled Chung hwo (A.D. 881)" [3]. The belief in the possibility of such wonderful births was evidently by no means new at the time when those Annals were written, as, according to a passage inserted therein, King Fang, the wise diviner of the first century before our era "wrote in his *Yih ch'wen*, 'Traditions about "the Combinations and Permutations of Divining Stalks': When "feudal princes stand in arms against each other, and a spectral "horse of theirs gives birth to a human being, then the day is "nearing when their people will be swept away" [4].

齊號哭、其僧便留與父母而去。

父母安存養育倍於常子、此子每至夜卽失所在、曉却至家。如此二三年、父母以爲作盜而伺窺之、見子每至夜化爲一大鼠、走出、及曉却來。父母問之、此子不語、多時對曰、我非君子也、我是嵩山下鼠王。下小鼠旣見我形、我不復至矣。其父母疑惑問、其夜化鼠走去. *Siao siang luh*; KK, ch. 440.

1 宣王三十二年有馬化爲人. *Chuh shu ki nien* 竹書紀年, Part II.

2 三十七年有馬化爲狐. *Ibid.*

3 乾符二年河北馬生人、中和元年九月長安馬生人. Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 36, l. 20.

4 京房易傳曰、諸侯相伐、厥妖馬生人、一日

Of a horse transformed into a woman the *Siao siang luh* gives the following curious account:

"Mr. Chang Ts'üen, Governor of Yih-cheu, kept a noble steed, "of which he took great care, and of which he was very fond. "One day it was found in the stable, changed into a woman of "the highest beauty. The attendants hurry to their lord to inform "him of the matter, and as he is going to the stable to behold the "miracle with his own eyes, the woman advances and salutes him "with polite bows, saying: 'I am a woman from the Yen region. "Being very fond of noble steeds, I was wont, whenever I saw "one, to exalt its briskness to the skies, with this result that after "some years I suddenly fell down, as if under the influence of "drink, and changed into a mettlesome horse. Then I galoped "away from home, taking my own way in a southerly direction for "about a thousand miles, when I was caught, and thus got into "your stable. Thanks to the care and affection you have bestowed "upon me, I have now the good fortune to return to my own "condition. My brutish state so filled me with dismay that my "tears flowed and, imbibing the soil, were brought before the "Emperor (of Heaven) by the tutelary divinity of the Earth, in "consequence of which it was ordained I should return to my old state. "The past is now to me like an awakening from a dream'. Chang "stands aghast. He keeps the woman quietly in his house; but when "some ten years have elapsed, she unexpectedly asks his permission "to return to her native place. He has not yet given it, when she "lifts her eyes up to heaven; crying and screaming she beats her "own body, and on a sudden changes into a stately horse, which "galops away. And nobody ever knew anything of her whereabouts" [1].

人流亡. *Loc. cit.* I possess a copy of the *Yih ch'wen*, in three chapters, but I cannot find this passus in it. To judge from earlier catalogues and bibliographies, the book is only a fragment of a much larger original. There exists another work of the same sort and title, in eleven paragraphs, ascribed to Kwan Lang 關朗, a versed diviner of the latter half of the fifth century, also known by his cognomen Tszĕ-ming 子明.

[1] 益州刺史張全養一駿馬、甚保惜之。忽一日其馬化爲一婦人、美麗奇絶、立於廐中。左右遽白張公、張公乃親至察視、其婦人前拜、而言曰、妾本是燕中婦人。因癖好駿馬、每覩之必嘆美其駿逸、後數年忽自醉倒、俄化成駿馬一匹。遂

The ass, closely resembling in China the pony in shape and habits, and being, moreover, its congener, with which it may copulate and produce hybrids of a constitution strong and sound, naturally appears in Chinese myth as a were-beast side by side with the horse. "In a Buddhist convent, named The Universal "Light, situated eastward from Wu-ch'ing (in Shantung, against "the Pehchihli frontier), there was under the Sung dynasty a monk, "named Yuen-hwui, who, given to the abuse of liquor, fell ill and "was laid up, quite broken down. Suddenly he raises his head, "sends forth a protracted bray, and falls down in a prostrate "attitude. On being asked what is the matter with him, he com- "plains of an untolerable pain in his tail-bone below the spine; "and as they examine that part of his body, they see an ass's tail "peep forth from under the skin. Next day it is already more than "a foot long; his body is covered all over with hair, and his head "and face are like a donkey's; a few days more, and he is in the "possession of hoofs and mane, and brays and howls so miserably "that his family resolve to put an end to his life. But the monks "prevent it, as he is a living admonition of Heaven to observe the "commandments (which forbid the use of intoxicating drinks). Ten "years after he expires" [1].

Thus again we have here a case of zoomorphosis connected with insanity. The following donkey-tale is an example of the belief in post-mortem transformations of men into beasts:

奔躍出、隨意南走近將千里、被一人收之以至於君廐中。幸君保惜、今偶自追。恨爲一畜、淚下入地、被地神上奏於帝、遂有命再還舊業。思往事如夢覺。張公大驚異之。安存於家、經十餘載其婦人忽爾求還鄉。張公未允之間、婦人仰天、號叫、自撲身、忽却化爲駿馬、衝突而出。不知所之. K K, ch. 436.

[1] 宋武城東普光寺僧元暉嗜酒得疾困臥。忽仰首、長鳴、頓仆於下。問所苦、曰腰脊下尾骨痛不可忍、視之、乃驢尾自皮膚茁出。明日長尺許、遍體生毛、首面肖驢、數日蹄鬣皆備、哮吼悲鳴、家人議殺之。僧人不可、此天所以示戒。十年方死. *Shan-tung t'ung chi*; T S, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 104.

"In the first year of the Kien yen period (A.D. 1127), when "warfare raged (against the Kin Tatars) in Kwan-chung and Shen-"cheu (eastern Shensi and western Honan), the Governor of the "circuit embracing the regions south and west of the Metropolis "(Khai-fung) proclaimed in all departments under his orders, that "every family possessing a store of victuals sufficient for more than "three years, should deliver it up to the authorities, and that "everybody who should disobey this command should be prosecuted "for bringing the troops into distress. There was then in the Shih-"tsʿüen district, in Kin-cheu, a commoner, named Yang Kwang, "whose fortune amounted to ten thousand hard coins, besides a "provision of rice that would have lasted for thirty years; no "wonder then that the order issued by the Governor dejected him "so much that he fell ill. His condition became extremely serious; "he was greatly disgusted to see people, and even his wife and "children got no access to him, and had to content themselves "with peeping at him through a crevice. They then perceived that "he plunged his hands from time to time into a pile of rice straw, "and devoured it. He consumed several cubic feet of it in a series "of days, and died.

"After the coffining there suddenly arose a noise in the coffin, "like hammering or kicking. Quickly the carpenter was called to "open it, who said: 'This is no case of revival, but a ghost; do "not open it!' But the son does not find it in his heart to follow "this advice; he opens it, and out jumps an ass with a loud bray. "Clothes and hat the corpse had cast off, as a cicada does its skin. "The family tie him up in the room with the crevice.

"One fine day, when the son's wife brings him some grass to "eat, he springs up impetuously, and snaps at her arm so fiercely "that the blood gushes out. She, being a crude woman of a "violent temper, flies into a passion, grasps her grass-knife, and stabs "the beast, so that it falls down dead on the spot. Yang Kwang's "wife then lodges a complaint against her with the district prefect "for the murder of her father-in-law. This magistrate dispatches the "military officer Wang Chih-chʿen to the place to investigate the "matter, which is thus brought to light with all the details" [1].

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[1] 建炎初關陝交兵、京西南路安撫使司檄諸郡、凡民家畜三年以上糧者悉送官、違者以乏軍需論。金州石泉縣民楊廣貲鉅萬、積粟支三

In another work we find a similar tale, but with a cow for its subject. "In the Kia tsing period (A.D. 1522—1566) a commoner "of Yé-ch'wen in Kao-p'ing (in the south-east of Shansi), named "Li Kwan-su, is no example of virtue, but improves his life, and "then dies, the villagers judging unanimously that he had just slipped "through the net (of infernal justice). He lies at home unburied "for two days, when his sons hear cries in the night. Supposing it is "their father, who is returning to life, they go and see, and find him "transformed into a cow. His head, arms and legs all are like the "corresponding limbs of a cow, and only the parts above his waist "and his belly have retained human forms. Quickly they shut him "up in the coffin, in which he still blusters and cries for some "days, till all noise ceases" [1].

For a correct knowledge of the Chinese ideas respecting souls as working powers in anthropomorphoses of animals, is the following legend, which acquaints us with a cow adopting something of the human body and mind because of a human soul settling in it. "The Buddhist priest Yih-yang, whose secular surname was

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十年、因是悒悒得疾。既疾篤絶惡見人、雖妻子不得見、自隙窺之。則時捽所藉稻藁而食。累日所食方數尺乃死。

斂畢棺中忽有聲若撓蹋者。家人亟呼匠欲啓棺、匠曰、此非甦活、殆必有怪、勿啟。其子不忍啟之、則一驢躍出、嘶鳴甚壯。衣帽如蟬蛻然。家縶之隙屋中。

一日其子婦持草飼驢、忽跳齧婦臂流血。婦粗暴忿怒、取抹草刀刺之、立死。廣妻遂訴縣、稱婦殺翁。縣遣修武郎王直臣往驗之、備得其事. *Ts'ing tsun luh*, 清尊錄, ascribed to one Lien Süen 廉宣; TS, sect. 神異, ch. 320.

[1] 嘉靖間高平野川民李官素無善行、乃正命而終、鄉人咸以爲漏網。方停屍二日、其子夜聞呼號之聲。意爲其父回生也、相與審視之、其父變爲一牛。頭與手足皆牛、獨腰腹上爲人形。急蓋棺揜之、棺中咆哮尙數日而止. *Shan-si tung chi*; TS, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 109.

"Ho, was wandering in the Hung wu period (1368—1399) to "beg for food, when he came to the dwelling of one Han Khien, "the chief of a station-house, who received him very hospitably. "There he fell ill, and his host did all he could to save and cure "him, till his death in the night of the 15th. of the seventh "month. Khien then procures a coffin, and buries him in the "grounds about the western hill. All his neighbours laugh at him "because he lavishes so much attention on a stranger; but, says he, "the 480 coins the matter costs are not worth troubling about.

"In the same night of the next year he dreams that Yih-yang, "in a yellow robe, stands in the cow-shed, with a finger of one hand "up, and that of the other down. Next morning he finds that the "cow in the shed has had a calf, its hair adorned with white "spots and stripes, like a kashâya. His heart tells him what he has "to think of it, especially later on, when the calf gets horns standing "respectively up and downward, as did the fingers of the monk; "indeed, it is not doubtful now that he has to do with a posthumous "incarnation of Yih-yang. He sets a boy to feed the heifer well "with grass, and never does he put it to the plough. But he makes "a saddle to ride on it, and finds it has more speed than a horse.

"One day, as Khien is riding it on the seashore, he is pursued "by a gang of Japanese pirates. Affrighted, he says to the cow: "'You are Yih-yang, are you not? well, help me out of this danger'; "and off runs the cow with extraordinary speed, and they escape. "Afterwards the cow is butchered clandestinely by the family of one "Sié Fen-leu. Khien arrests this man and demands an indemnifi- "cation. Sié then says: 'Thirteen of our people have divided and "eaten the cow; each of them is willing to pay sixty coins for your "loss, provided no complaint be lodged with the magistrate'. Khien "calculates that this will make a total just amounting to what he "spent for the burial. This discovery extorts a deep sigh from his "chest, and induces him to hush up the matter. He keeps the "Buddhist commandments for the whole of his life, and so do his "descendants, who to this day never eat any beef" [1].

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[1] 一陽和尙、俗姓何、洪武間遊食至韓岍驛宰家、岍厚遇之。一陽病、岍救療備至後於七月十五夜死。岍具棺以葬於西坡地。隣里以岍注意於方外士皆哂之、岍曰、費錢七百八十文耳不足惜也。

We have found also reference to a camel whose soul appeared in the shape of a man. "When Wang Chu retired on account of "the summer heat into a temple, he saw a humpbacked old man, "with white spots on his ribs. Next day he saw that being as a "camel. Was not the apparition of the day before the soul (tsing) "of this animal?" [1]

A were-buck most celebrated in China's history, was the magician Tso Tsʿzĕ [2], who lived in the second and the third century of our era. It is related of him in the Standard Annals that, having incurred the ill-will of Tsʿao Tsʿao, the renowned founder of the Wei dynasty which succeeded that of Han, he escaped seizure in the market-place by causing all people in the crowd to resemble him in every respect. Once more he was seen in the country, "but he ran

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明年是夜岍夢一陽披黃衣、立牛欄中、以二手作上下指狀。早視欄中牛生一犢、毛作白花文若袈裟然。心竊識之、後犢出角、一立一垂、如所指狀、岍以爲一陽後身無疑。遂令僮善芻之、惜不教耕。作鞍跨之、走勝馬。

一日岍乘行海邊、遇倭賊追逐。驚謂牛曰、爾一陽耶、當濟此難。牛走異常、得脫。後爲焚艘謝家竊殺。岍緝獲贓。謝曰、吾分食此牛者十三人、人願辦錢六十文以償公長者、幸無聞官。岍私計錢適合前葬費之數。大爲嗟悼而寢其事。因終身與子孫戒、至今勿食牛肉云. *Kwang-tung t'ung chi* 廣東通志, General Memoirs concerning Kwangtung; TS, sect. 禽虫, ch. 109.

[1] 王洙避暑神廟、見一老人佗背及肋有搭白處。明日視之乃橐駝也。昨夕所見豈其精眇. TS, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 103; from the *Kwah i chi* 括異志 or Bundle of Strange Matters, in ten chapters, by Chang Shi-ching 張師正, also named Puh-i 不疑, an officer of the second half of the eleventh century. The original collection, according to Chʿao Kung-wu's Catalogue, contained 250 tales and notes on marvellous topics. There is another work with the same title, bearing the name of Lu Ying-lung 魯應龍 for its author. This must date from the Sung dynasty, or from that of Ming, but we have not seen it, and we only know its existence from extracts occurring in some other works.

[2] 左慈.

"into a drove of goats, and Ts'ao Ts'ao, realizing the impossibility "to catch him, ordered his men to go amidst the flock and exclaim: "'You shall not be killed; we only want to try how far your arts "can go'. On this, an old he-goat suddenly bent his fore-legs, "reared himself like a man, and exclaimed: 'Prove to me that "you will keep your word'. Up ran the men to him at the "top of their speed; but all the goats of the herd, several hundred "head in number, changed into bucks, and likewise bending down "their fore-legs and rising up like men, bleated: 'Prove to me that "you will keep your word'. So, again, they were at a loss which "to seize" [1].

A singular folk-conception prevalent in the provinces of Kwang-tung and Kwangsi many centuries ago, attests that the belief in the possibility of changes of men into swine was in that part of China general. "It is there a tradition among the people", thus we read in a book on those regions, produced in the twelfth century, "that the transformation which women indolent in weaving undergo, "is into wild pigs of diminutive size, which delight in devouring "the growing rice. Therefore the farmers suspend in their fields a "loom or some other implement used in weaving, which prevents "the pigs from coming back. This custom prevails in Ngan-p'ing "(the extreme south-west of Kwangsi), in the country of the Seven "Streams, and in still other districts" [2].

The following tale of a man-pig maintaining order and discipline among a herd of swine, savours of the influence of Buddhist ideas of salvation and metempsychosis. It occurs in a work of the Sung period:

"Pien-ts'ung, a Buddhist monk, had itinerated into Wu-t'ai (in "Shansi). When about to return to the Metropolis, an old monk "of the convent entrusts a letter to him, bearing this address:

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[1] 走入羊羣、操知不可得、乃令就羊中、告之曰、不復相殺、本試君術耳。忽有一老羝屈前兩膝、人立而言曰、遽如許。卽競往赴之、而群羊數百皆變爲羝、並屈前膝人立云、遽如許。遂莫知所取焉. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 112. II. l. 16.

[2] 世傳織婦慵懶者所化狀如山豬而小、喜食禾苗。田夫以機軸織紝之器挂田所、則不復近。安平七源等州有之. *Ling wai tai tah*, ch. 9.

"'This is to be delivered to Puh-ho, at the Metropolis, north of "the walls'. The monk stealthily opens the envelope, and reads: 'When "you have finished your work for the salvation of the Sangha, "then be quick and come here, for should you be constrained to "remain where you are, it is to be feared that you will indulge in "wordly business'. He re-closes the letter, and at the Metropolis "seeks for the addressee, but without finding him.

"One fine day he sees a boy on the banks of the Wu-chang "stream, driving a fat swine, which he calls Puh-ho. The monk "interrogates the boy, who says: 'It is a hog of Chao the butcher; "it is the leader of a whole herd of swine, which it keeps from "disorder and indolence, and as it is very fond of poh-ho leaves, "we denote it by that name'. The clergyman now calls out the "name, to see whether it listens to it, and throws the letter before "the animal; it devours it, stands up like a man, and dies. "Straightway the monk travels back to Wu-t'ai, and there asks "for the old monk; but he, too, has in the mean time departed "this life" [1].

10. Were-reptiles.

As shown on page 160, the oldness of the belief in anthropomorphosis of tortoises and in the possibility of men turning into those animals, is attested by the writings of Chwang-tszĕ. More authentic evidence of its prevalence in the early centuries of our era we have in the Standard Annals of those times. They

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[1] 僧辨聰遊五臺。將還京師、寺有老僧寄以書、其上題云、東京城北尋勃賀分付。僧竊啟封視之云、度衆僧畢早來、苟更强住却恐造業。復封之、乃至京尋訪、不見其人。

一日五丈河側見一小兒、逐一大猪、名勃賀。僧問之云、屠者趙氏猪、能引群猪、令不亂逸。愛食薄荷、故以名。僧試呼其名、以書投之、猪遂食其書、人立而化。僧徑之五臺訪老僧、亦化去矣. TS, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 121; from the *Tung wei chi* 洞微志 or Record of discovered Mysteries, ten chapters of marvellous things which occurred during and after the T'ang dynasty, by Ts'ien Hi-poh 錢希白.

relate, that "under the reign of the emperor Ling (A.D. 168—189) "the mother of one Hwang, an inhabitant of Kiang-hia (in Hupeh), "while taking her bathe, changed into a giant tortoise and plunged "into a deep pool, out of which she came forth from time to "time, the silver hairpin she had worn while bathing then being "seen on her head" [1]. And the Books of the House of Sung state, "that in the first year of the Hwang ch'u period (A.D. 220) the "mother of Sung Shi-tsung in Ts'ing-ho changed into a tortoise, "and cast herself into the water" [2]. Moreover, the Books of the Tsin dynasty relate:

"Under the reign of Sun Hao it occurred in Tan-yang (in "Kiangsu), in the first year of the Pao ting period (A.D. 266), "that the mother of one Süen Khien, an octogenary woman, while "taking a bath, changed into a giant tortoise. He and his brothers "shut the door and kept watch at it; then they dug a spacious basin "in the upper part of the hall, and filled it with water for the "tortoise to divert itself in. On the first day and the next the "animal continuously put its neck out of the water to look round, "and then seeing the door ajar, it turned round, escaped, and "jumped into a distant pond, from which it re-appeared no more" [3].

The idea, expressed in these tales, that it is a special idiosyncrasy of aged women to change into tortoises, preferably when in the bath, is, no doubt, not alien from the consideration that the tortoise, being an aquatic animal, belongs, just the same as water itself and all women, to the yin or female part of the Universe. But for this there are also a good number of tales in books of marvel which relate of tortoises as human beings of the other sex. To give two instances only:

"Yen T'ai, while journeying on the Yangtszĕ, fell in with a "fishing-boat, the crew of which told him they had fifty turtles

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1 靈帝時江夏黃氏之母浴而化爲黿、入于深淵、其後時出見、初浴簪一銀釵及見猶在其首. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 27, l. 6.

2 黃初初清河宋士宗母化爲鼈、入水. Ch. 34, l. 24.

3 孫皓寶鼎元年丹陽宣騫母年八十、因浴化爲黿。兄弟閉戶衛之、掘堂上作大坎、實水其中、黿入坎遊戲。一二日恒延頸外望、伺戶小開便輪轉、自躍入于遠潭、遂不復還. Ch. 29, l. 39.

"with them. He bought them for five thousand hard coins, and "set them free. No sooner was he some dozen steps off, when the "fishing-boat capsized. When the evening came, fifty men appeared "at his house. 'Your excellent son', they said to his parents, 'had "five thousand coins with him; here they are, take them'. The "money was all wet. Greatly astonished the parents were, until "T'ai came home, and told them his curious adventure with the "turtles he had redeemed" [1].

"Fah-chi, a monk of mount T'ai, had itinerated as far as "Hwai-yin, when he saw a fisherman, who received him with "much politeness. He followed him to his straw hut, and had some "food placed before him most carefully. Astonished at so good a "reception, the monk asks: 'My disciple, you make a living by "fishing, and so you are a sinner; how is it then that, on seeing a "monk, you treat him with so much respect and courtesy?' 'Time "was', the other replies, 'when I made acquaintance in the Hwui-ki "mounts with one Yün-yuen, a superior man, who preached the "Dharma to the multitude. I, a man addicted to the pleasures of "life, awoke by his sermons to the Holy Doctrine, and ever since "when I see a monk, I feel a boundless joy'. With astonishment "undiminished the monk admonishes him to change his calling. "But the fisherman says: 'Though I received instruction in the "doctrine of virtue, I am still entangled in the nets of sin; but the "same is the case with such monks as you are, who possess this dignity "without being able to apply themselves to the commandments; our "sinfulness is equally great; what difference is there between us?' "Bashful and ashamed, the monk absents himself. Then looking "behind, he sees that the fisherman has become a big tortoise, "which plunges into the Hwai, while the straw hut fades away" [2].

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[1] 嚴泰江行、逢漁舟、問之云、有龜五十頭。泰用錢五千贖放之。行數十步漁舟乃覆。其夕乃有五十人詣泰門。告其父母曰、賢郎附錢五千、可領之。緡皆沾濕。父母怪之、及泰歸乃說贖龜之異. *Kwah i chi*; T S, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 153.

[2] 臺山僧法志遊至淮陰、見一漁者、堅禮而邀焉。法志隨至草菴中、漁者設食甚謹。法志頗怪、因問曰、弟子以漁爲業、自是造罪之人、何見僧如此敬禮。答曰、我昔於會稽山遇雲遠上人、爲

Conceptions about the existence of snakes with human or partly human form prevailed in China probably in the darkest night of time, mention being made of such monsters in so old a work as the *Shan-hai king* [1]. "In Yang-shan", thus we read in that curious book, "are many metamorphosed snakes. As to their shape, they "have a human face, a wolf's body, and the wings of a bird, but "they move about like snakes [2]. And the Siang-liu family have "nine heads with human faces, bodies as serpents, and a blue "color" [3]. It was, no doubt, under the influence of the general belief in such semi-human animals that still in the eighth century the learned Szĕ-ma Ching, attempting to construe a kind of history out of written and oral traditions about China's oldest times, wrote that "P'ao Hi (*i. e.* Fuh Hi, see Book I, p. 963) had the body of "a snake and a human head, and Nü Kwa (Book I, p. 418) a "serpent's body with a man's head" [4].

Traditions about changes of men into snakes and of snakes into men are, no doubt, likewise very old in China. It is related *e. g.*: "When Chang Khwan became Governor of Yang-cheu under the "emperor Wu of the Han dynasty (B.C. 140—86), two old men "had been there before the magistrate with a litigation about the

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衆講法、暫曾隨喜、得悟聖教、邇來見僧則歡喜無量。僧異之、勸令改業。漁者曰、我雖聞善道而滯於罟網、亦猶和尙爲僧未能以戒律爲事、其罪一也、又何疑焉。僧慙而退。廻顧見漁者化爲大黿、入淮、亦失草菴所在. *Siao siang luh*, K K, ch. 470.

1 山海經, "the Land and Water Classic" an interesting relic of ancient China, mentioned already by Szĕ-ma Ts'ien in the Historical Records (ch. 122, at the end), who writes that it refers to the time of Yü, the founder of the Hia dynasty, and that he refuses to reproduce its statements about strange and singular beings. It abounds, indeed, with zoological and botanical wonders, existing all over the then known and unknown world which it pretends to describe, and it mentions numerous countries which a thorough study of Chinese geography might make realities. The *Shan-hai king* circulates mostly in 18 chapters, commented by Kwoh Poh.

2 陽山其中多化蛇。其狀如人面而豺身鳥翼而蛇行. Ch. V, 中山經.

3 相柳者九首人面蛇身而青. Ch. VIII, 海外北經.

4 庖犧蛇身人首、女媧氏蛇身人首. Appendix to the Historical Records, l. 1.

"limits of a disputed plot somewhere in the mountains. For several "years the decision had been adjourned, but Chang Khwan took "up the case again, so that the two men re-appeared in court. "He then discovered from their shape and demeanour that they "were not men, and ordered his lictors to arm themselves with "clubs and spears. When they entered, he asked the two men: "'Tell me what sort of spirits you are'. Away the old sires ran, "and Khwan, hooting and crying, attacked them; on which they "changed into snakes" [1].

Elsewhere we read:

"Mrs. Chao, the wife of Wang Chen, prefect of the district of "Hwa-yin, was the daughter af a wealthy man in Yen. She was a "woman with nice features, and had married Wang Chen at an "early age; (no wonder then that) about six months after she had "followed him to his post, a young man turned up, always availing "himself of the moment when Chen went out, to visit her "regularly in her bedroom. After a series of such visits he seduced "her. One fine day Wang entered, and found the galant with "Mrs. Chao on the same dining-mat, drinking together, and "laughing merrily. With a loud cry of fright the lady fainted, and "while she sank to the ground, quite breathless, the young man "changed into a big snake and decamped. Chen then told the "slave-maids in attendance to lift their mistress up under her "arms, but lo, she, too, turned into a snake, and escaped with "the other one. Wang Chen ran after her, but only to see how "she followed the serpent that was ahead into mount Hwa, where "they ultimately vanished" [2].

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[1] 漢武帝時張寬爲揚州刺史、先是有二老翁爭山地詣州訟疆界。連年不決、寬視事復來。寬窺二翁形狀非人、令卒持杖戟。將入問、汝等何精。翁走、寬呵格之、化爲二蛇. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 19.

[2] 華陰縣令王眞妻趙氏者燕中富人之女也。美容貌、小適王眞、洎隨之任近半年、忽有一少年、每伺眞出卽輒至趙氏寢室。旣頻往來因戲誘趙氏私之。忽一日王眞自外入、乃見此少年與趙氏同席飲酌歡笑。甚大驚訝、趙氏不覺自仆氣絶、其少年化一大蛇、奔突而去。眞乃令侍

We are wont to call a peevish or violent, brawling woman a dragon. The Chinese go further than that, and believe in changes of shrews into serpents and snakes as dreadful realities. So, "Mr. Wei, a Censor, had a sister, with a temperament both "harsh and cruel, virulent and wicked. Her female slaves and her "servants she whipped and flogged so cruelly, that death often "ensued. Suddenly she got the fever. For a week or so she refused "to see anybody, remaining all the time secluded in her room, and "venting her fury by ejecting invectives against all who ventured "to approach. When ten days had thus elapsed, a rustling sound "was heard in the room. They stole near to see, and on their "way up the hall smelled a poisonous stench of tainted meat; "then opening the window, they saw that the woman was changing "into a huge snake longer than a chang, assuming a red "spotted colour. Her clothes, nails and hair lay scattered all "over the mattress. With furious looks the beast dashed out "against the men, casting terror into the hearts of the whole "family, who jointly let it escape into the open country. It was "the violence and cruelty of her character, that brought about "this metamorphosis" [1].

In the class of man-snakes we must place also certain monsters reported to have been born in snake-forms from women, to live without shuffling off their ophidian shape. They existed already in the imagination of the people in the second century of our era, for we read in the Standard Annals of that time, in a biography

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婢扶腋起之、俄而趙氏亦化一蛇、奔突俱去。王眞遂逐之、見隨前出者俱入華山、久之不見. *Siao siang luh.*

[1] 御史中丞衞公有姊、爲性剛戾毒惡。婢僕鞭笞多死。忽得熱疾。六七日自云不復見人、常獨閉室、而欲至者必嗔喝呵怒。經十餘日忽聞屋中窸窣有聲。潛來窺之、昇堂便覺腥臊毒氣、開牖已見變爲一大蛇、長丈餘、作赤班色。衣服爪髮散在牀褥。其蛇怒目逐人、一家驚駭、衆共送之於野。蓋性暴虐所致也. *Yuen hwa ki* 原化記. written, I think, in the beginning of the Sung dynasty, or shortly before. It is quoted frequently in the KK. Its author was a member of the Hwang-fu 皇甫 tribe, whose name seems to be unknown. KK, ch. 459.

of the high grandee Teu Wu [1]: "When his mother gave birth to "him, she brought forth at the same time a snake, which they set "free in the forest. Afterwards she died, and they were on the point "of burying her, when, before they let her down into the grave, "there came a large snake out of the jungle. Straightway creeping "to the grave, it knocked its head against the coffin; with bloody "tears it waved its head up and down, coiled itself up, and acted "as if it were moaning and weeping; and when after a while it "withdrew, all the people felt convinced that the event foreboded "felicity to the Teu family" [2]. Thus, in spite of its shape, the animal possessed a perfect human character, manifesting itself in highly dutiful, filial conduct.

"In the Yung ch'ang period (A.D. 322) of the reign of the "emperor Yuen", thus Yü Pao relates, "a Ki-yang woman, named "Jen Kuh, while ploughing a field, took a nap under a tree, when "a man dressed in feathery clothes neared her and had sexual "intercourse with her. His abode she remained ignorant of, and "when after a pregnancy of several months she was to be confined, "the feathery-clothed man turned up again and stuck a knife into "her vagina, which thereupon brought forth a little viper. The man "then departed, and Jen Kuh afterwards got access to the Imperial "residence as a dignitary of the Crown, even changing service in "Ch'en-liu (the Metropolis) for that in the interior of the Palace" [3].

Side by side with stories of men turning bodily into snakes, there exist some which show that the souls of the dead may assume the serpent-shape, quite independently from their former mortal coil. The following legend may serve as an instance of

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[1] 竇武.

[2] 初武母產武而并產一蛇、送之林中。後母卒及葬未窆、有大蛇自榛草而出。徑至喪所、以頭擊柩、涕血皆流、俯仰蜿屈、若哀泣之容、有頃而去、時人知爲竇氏之祥. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 99, l. 6.

[3] 元帝永昌中暨陽人任谷因耕息於樹下、忽有一人、著羽衣、就淫之。既而不知所在、谷遂有妊積月將產、羽衣人復來、以刀穿其陰、下出一蛇子。便去、谷遂成宦者詣闕、自陳留於宮中. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 14.

this; it occurred in a work which existed probably under the Han dynasty, viz. the *Ch'en-liu fung-suh ch'wen*[1] or Traditions about Manners and Customs in Ch'en-liu, which is the Khai-fung region, forming a part of the present Honan province. "The district of "Siao-hwang is Hwang-hiang, in the Sung region. There the Prince "of P'ei, having raised an army to wage war in the provinces, lost "his august mother. When the realm was reduced to peace, he "sent a messenger thither with a coffin, to evoke her soul in the "deep wilds; and during this ceremony a red snake appeared, which "bathed in the water, and entered the coffin. And on the spot where "it bathed hairs were found"[2].

In conclusion, we have to attest the belief in man-lizards and man-frogs.

The *Lang hüen ki* tells of "a man wounded by a snake, and "smarting bitterly under the bite. On the point of expiring, he "sees a little child approach. 'Take two knives', it says, 'rub them "against each other in some water; drink the water, and the "effect will be salutary'. On these words it changes into a green "lizard, and disappears in a hole of the wall. The man follows the "advice, and is cured immediately. It is on account of this event "that the green lizard is called the snake(-bite) curer. He is the "so-called house-watch (*i. e.* the house-lizard)"[3].

"One Yang Tsien of Chung-kwei made a large tank behind the "hall of his house, enclosing it with a series of rooms, bolted and "locked securely on all sides. At every bath he had there, he placed "the bath things, basins etc. on the brink of the tank, then

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1 陳留風俗傳. This work is mentioned in the Catalogue of the Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty (ch. 46, l. 45), with the addition that the author is unknown; but some catalogues state that he was a certain Kiang Wei 江微. I doubt whether the book still exists.

2 小黃縣者宋地黃鄉也。沛公起兵野戰、喪皇妣于黃鄉。天下平定乃使使者以梓宮招魂幽野、於是有丹蛇、在水自灑濯、入于梓宮。其浴處有遺髮. KK, ch. 456.

3 一人爲蛇傷痛苦。欲死見一小兒來。曰、可用兩刀、在水內相磨、取水飲之效。言畢化爲緑蠑、走入壁孔中。其人如方、卽愈。因號緑蠑爲蛇醫。卽守宮也. TS, sect. 禽虫, ch. 183.

"locked out every one, and jumped into the tank; and the bath "finished, he crawled out of the water after an hour or so. Nobody "could get a peep at him, and he merely told others that it was "his nature to be so fond of tank-bathing.

"One fine day he lies asleep alone in the hall, when a thief "enters. Suddenly this man sees a frog in the bed, a beast almost "as large as the whole bed itself. Its eyes glisten like gold and "shoot brilliant beams, and the thief, scared at the sight, falls "headlong to the ground. The frog then adopts the human shape "and becomes Tsien, who rising up and grasping his sword, asks: "'Who are you?' The thief mentions his names, on which Tsien "casts a silver incense-ball towards him, saying: 'I give you this "because of your pinching poverty; but do not under any pretext "whatever tell others what you have seen. The thief lacks courage "to accept the present, and gets away with polite bows. Being "afterwards imprisoned in Khai-fung for some other reason, he lets "the matter out" [1].

11. Were-birds.

As in the mythology of unwinged animals, so we find in that of the feathered tribe a series of tales illustrating the belief in bodily conversion of beasts into men and of men into beasts, side

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[1] 中貴楊戩於堂後作一大池、環以廊廡、扃鐍周密。每浴時設浴具及澡豆之屬於池上、乃盡屏人、躍入池中、游沫率移時而出。人莫得窺、然但謂其性喜浴於池耳。

一日戩獨寢堂中、有盜入其室。忽見牀上乃一蝦蟆、大可一牀。兩目如金、光彩射人、盜爲之驚仆。而蝦蟆復變爲人、乃戩也、起坐握劍問曰、汝爲何人。盜以實對、戩擲一銀香毬與之曰、念汝迫貧以此賜汝、切勿爲人言所見也。盜不敢受、拜而出。後以他事繫開封獄自道如此. *Lao hioh-ngan pih ki* 老學庵筆記, "Pencil-annotations from my study-cottage in my old days", a collection of notices on miscellaneous subjects, in ten chapters, by Luh Yiu 陸遊, also named Wu-kwan 務觀, a high officer who lived from 1125 to 1209. *Apud* T S, sect. 禽虫, ch. 186.

by side with stories that place us before human souls changing into animals after death. Both categories are to be reviewed in the following pages, to prove that in the domain of Chinese Animism bird-lore shows itself in the same aspect as quadruped-lore.

According to Koh Hung, anthropomorphosis becomes an idiosyncrasy with birds especially on their reaching a very great age, just as, as we saw, is the case with foxes and other quadrupeds. "Birds when a thousand or ten thousand years old", thus he wrote, "all have a human face, with the body of a bird" [1]. This may have been a personal conviction of our author, or it may have been a doctrine received universally in his time; but a fact it is, that among the tales of metamorphoses of birds, which we possess, by far the largest number contain not the slightest hint that those birds were conceived as to have been old.

Of all man-bird tales none is entitled to our attention so much as the following, related by Yü Pao, variations of it having been discovered in several parts of Europe and Asia [2]. "In the "district of Sin-yü in Yü-chang (prov. of Kiangsi) a young man "saw in a field six or seven women, each in a feather dress. "Not knowing they were birds, he crept towards them, and got "hold of a feather dress taken off by one of the women. He "snatched it up and concealed it, and neared the birds, and "they all flew away, except one which could not. The youth made "her his wife, and she gave birth to three daughters. Their mother "afterwards induced these girls to pump their father, and thus she "learned that the dress was hidden by him under a heap of pady. "There she found it, put it on, and flew away. Afterwards she "came back to fetch her three daughters, and these too flew away" [3].

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[1] 千歲之鳥萬歲之禽皆人面而鳥身. *Pao P'oh-tsze*, ch. 1, sect. 對俗.

2 Tawney, The Kathā Sarit Sāgara, II, 452—453, and the various versions of the legend mentioned there in the foot-note; also pp. 576—577.

Dr. Müller in the *T'oung Pao*, vol. VI, p. 66.

[3] 豫章新喻縣男子見田中有六七女、皆衣毛衣。不知是鳥、匍匐往、得其一女所解毛衣。取藏之、卽往就諸鳥、諸鳥各飛去、一鳥獨不得去。男子取以爲婦、生三女。其母後使女問父、知衣在積稻下。得之、衣而飛去。後復以迎三女、女亦得飛去. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 14.

The fowl, which lived domesticated in China already at the dawn of historical times, was represented at an early date as the descendant of a human ancestor who had changed himself into the bird. "The people", thus says a book of the second century, "aver that fowls have their origin in a certain personage named "Chu, who became a fowl by metamorphosis, and that this is "the reason why at present fowls are called together by the "cry chu.. chu.." [1]. The fact that a man so learned as Ying Shao, the author of that work, gave this tradition a place in his writings without expressing doubts as to the truth of it, seems to intimate that cultivated minds in his time did not much demur to the possibility of that metamorphosis. Nor can we admit that the belief in it had lost much of its actuality in the tenth century, seeing that then a critic of significance earnestly protested against it. "The combination of the two series of twelve terms which "appertain to each other", thus wrote that man [2], and accordingly also that of the twelve animals among which we find the fowl (comp. p. 987 of Book I), "was known already in the age of Hien-yuen "(27th. cent. B.C.), and is it made out that the tribal name Chu "existed at an earlier date? Moreover, ducks are called with the "cry yü.. yü, and of whom are they a metamorphosis, that people "do that?" [3]

"Under the T'ang dynasty, Kao I, a very rich man in Puh-hai, "calmly dies. Next day he comes to life again, and relates that there "was a one-eyed man in white, with a protocol in his hand, with the "murder of whose wife and children the Governor of Hades charged "him, but on his denying all acquaintance with that man, the "Governor allowed him to return to the earth, saying: 'Your lifetime "is not yet elapsed, Sir'. It then occurs to his mind that that man "in white must have been his old, one-eyed, hemp-coloured house-"cock. He has it shot, and that puts an end to its diabolic work" [4].

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[1] 俗說雞本朱公化而爲之、今呼雞者朱朱也. *Fung-suh t'ung i*, quoted in the TS, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 36.

2 Khiu Kwang-t'ing 邱光庭, in his *Kien ming shu* 兼明書 or Book of additional Elucidations, a critical work on the Classics and other writings.

[3] 軒轅之世已知十二屬之所配、豈朱氏之姓興於軒轅之前乎。且呼鴨作與與聲、又是誰氏之化耶. TS, *cap. cit.*

[4] 唐渤海高崚巨富怙然而卒。經日而蘇、云有

"A commoner of Khü-cheu, named Li Sü, comes somewhere to "collect the rent of his grounds. The people there are so poor that "they have nothing else to offer him to eat than a hatching hen. "They resolve to cook it, on which Li Sü indistinctly sees under a "mulberry tree a young woman in yellow garments, who approaches "him with bows, and begs for her life. 'For myself I do not mind "dying', says she, 'but I cannot bear the idea that my children "will never behold the light of the sun'. Upon which Li Sü says: "'I will go to the people there and remonstrate with them, and "then none of them will catch, kill or wound you'. With tears in "her eyes the woman runs away, leaving Li Sü quite stupefied and "discountenanced. Returning to the house, he sees a hen sitting "on several eggs, and the family on the point of tying it. His "words make them waver, and he forbids them to kill the bird. "Thereupon he departs.

"Coming back on another day, he finds the hen with a brood "of chickens. The bird no sooner sees him than it rushes forth, "hopping and jumping as if agitated by something or other; then "leaving the chickens alone, it follows him. Li Sü has hardly gone "a few hundred paces when he falls in with a tiger. With leaps "and bounds the monster nears, but on a sudden a hen flies "up and beats its eyes with so much impetuosity, that Li Sü "has time to run away and make his escape. It is nearly dark "when he finds himself again in that house, which he has reached "by another path. He misses the hen, and asks where it is. The "answer is, it flew away this morning in a westward direction, "and that they have sought for it in vain. Struck with amaze- "ment, Li Sü recounts his adventure with the tiger; and as

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一白衣人、眇目把牒、冥司訟殺其妻子、嶷對云不識此老人、冥官云、君命未盡、且放歸。遂悟白衣人乃是家中老瞎麻雞也。令射殺、魅遂絶.

Chao yé ts'ien tsai 朝野僉載, "Record of all Matters relating to the Court and abroad", a collection of miscellaneous notes, in six chapters, the poor remains of a work in thirty, ascribed to one Chang Shoh 張鷟, who lived probably in the first half of the eighth century. As the work now current under this title mentions occurrences of the ninth century and of the Sung dynasty, it is perhaps an appendix, bearing originally the title *Ts'ien tsai pu i* 僉載補遺, "Addition of forgotten Matters to the (*Chao yé*) *ts'ien tsai*", written very likely under the reign of the last-named House. K K, ch. 461.

"they are going to the spot to seek for the bird, they find it dead "in the shrubs, and its feathers scattered about" [1].

"In the first year of the Shao hing period (A.D. 1131) Honan "fell into the power of rebels. They recognized Liu Yü as their "potentate, but our district (Ch'en-cheu) remained a stronghold of "the Throne. Fung Ch'ang-ning, a Hwui-ki man, was its prefect. "Liu Yü attacked him, and finding it impossible to subdue him, "sent for Wang Kwa-kioh, a troublesome insurgent in Shantung. "This man having raised re-inforcements among the people in Suh "and Poh (the north of Nganhwui), both generals marched to the "attack with combined forces, and the city surrendered in a year, "its provisions being totally exhausted.

"Wang Kwa-kioh then raised three pennons in the centre of the "town, where several thoroughfares met, and ordered his men "from the two districts aforesaid to arrange themselves under the "red one if they were willing to remain in the army; those desirous "to become civil mandarins were to place themselves under the "yellow pennon, and those who would rather go home he sum- "moned to select the black one. Anxious for their lives, all "people flocked to the red colours, and only two gentlemen from

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[1] 衢州民家里胥至督促租賦。家貧無以備餐、祇有哺雞一隻。擬烹之、里胥恍惚間見桑下有著黃衣女子、前拜乞命。又云、自死卽閒、不忍兒子未見日光。里胥曰、某到此催徵、卽無追捕殺傷者。其女泣而逃、里胥驚惻。回至屋頭、見一鶵哺數子、其家將縛之。次意疑之、不許殺。遂去。

後一旦再來、其鶵已抱出一羣子。見里胥向前、踴躍有似相感之狀、捨而遂行。數百步遇一虎。跳躑漸近、忽一鶵飛出、撲其虎眼、里胥因斯奔馳得免。至暮從別路回其家。已不見雞、問之。云朝來西飛去、查無蹤。里胥怪之、具說其虎之事、遂往尋之、其鶵已斃於草間、羽毛零落. TS, sect. 禽虫, ch. 36; from the *Ling ying luh* 靈應錄, ascribed to Fu Liang, 傅亮, known also by his cognomen Ki-yiu 季友, being probably the learned statesman living from 374 to 426, a biography of whom occurs in ch. 43 of the Books of the Sung Dynasty and in ch. 15 of the History of the South.

"Poh, respectively named Wang and Wei, betook themselves to "the black standard, reasoning thus: for a civil office we are too "old, and remaining in the army means dying, while placing "ourselves under the black colours is certain death too, as we then "thwart the will of our chieftain. The whole army stood aghast, "but Kwa-kioh, deeming it a grave matter to violate his promise, "courteously dismissed them, so that they could return home.

"Wang then visited the city of Ch'en to fetch some treasures "he had buried there; but he was never seen again, nor was any "news of him received from that time, or any trace of him found. "As to Wei, in some ten years the fortune he made out of his "profession became great. Once he had no more than two fowls "in his house, when the Governor of the town happened to travel "through his village. Wei then caught the hen, cooked it, and "served it up to the grandee, and next day, when the latter "returned home, he was going to kill the cock; but the bird "perceived it, and sneaked off through the millet. Then he begins "a chase with a bamboo pole, and is on the point of catching the "bird, when suddenly it accosts him in a human voice. Raising "its head, it exclaims: 'Alas, what cruel evil must befall me here! "is there no longer in you any particle of our old affection?' "Wei starts back, with the words: 'Who are you?' 'I am "Wang', replies the bird; do not you remember the incident at "Yuen-khiu, when we were in the army?' 'You lodged me then', "says Wei, 'whither did you go, and where did you die?' 'When "we were comrades', is the reply, 'I enriched myself with your "money, secretly concealing it somewhere till more peaceful times "should come. Afterwards I entered the city to fetch it, and with "two bags on my back put up at a country-inn to pass the night, "where I opened them before the lamp; but ere I had counted "over the contents, the inn-keeper espied me. He gave me spirits "to drink to make me tipsy, and then I was murdered. Notwith-"standing my hidden store of precious metal, my orbate soul "was left to its own fate, without any supporters. My thoughts "then turned to my fellow villagers and kinsfolk, and finding none "of them but you alive, I resolved to join you When I had "settled in your house, four daughters of your neighbour Kia also "arrived there, betaking themselves together to the womb of your "house-hen when it was about to hatch, and thus becoming hens; "they are the hens which you killed before. If now you wish to "destroy me too, I am ready to submit to my fate'.

"The Governor has overheard all this discourse. Comprehending "the matter at once, he goes home, and reports it to the prefect. "This dignitary summons Wei and the cock before him. Both "appear, and the crowd behind them gives the streets the aspect "of a busy market. The cock repeats its statements before the "magistrate, ending with the words: 'And now, as I, a domestic "bird, have divulged matters of the World of Darkness without "authorisation, I must die'. It stretches out its neck, conceals it "under its wings, and breathes its last. The prefect, sighing and "astonished, orders the cock to be committed to the earth behind "the temple of Lao-tszĕ, and erects an inscription over the spot, "which ran thus: Tomb of the man-cock" [1].

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[1] 紹興初河南之地陷賊。以封劉豫、州郡猶爲朝廷固守。會稽馮長寧知陳州。豫攻之、不能下、遣招山東劇賊王瓜角。起宿亳之民、併力進攻、踰年城中糧盡而降。

瓜角建三幟於通逵、下令二州之民從軍者立赤幟、欲爲官立黃幟、欲還鄉者立黑幟。民畏死盡趨赤幟下、獨亳人王魏兩翁自顧年老不能官、從軍必死、而立黑幟則拂其意均之一死、乃相與詣黑幟下。衆皆愕然、瓜角重失信謝遣之、於是得歸。

王翁入陳城取葬埋物、不復來、聲跡亦絶。魏以十年後營產成大。家素畜二鷄、一日邑尉過其里。捕雌者烹食之、他日尉還又欲殺其雄、雄覺竄伏黍。擲之以竿、始就獲、雞忽作人言。仰首太息曰、噫何毒害至此、略無故舊情邪。魏駭曰、爾爲誰。曰、我王翁也、豈不記宛丘從軍時事乎。魏曰、爾前舍我、竟何之、且死於何所。曰、我向者結伴實利君財、私別貯蓄以待事平。後來入城索得之、負以兩布囊、是夜宿次野店、燈下開囊、計數不料爲主人所窺。飲我以酒醉遣殺焉。掩有裝金、孤魂無依。念鄉親、不一存、獨君在耳、故決意相從。及到君家適鄰人賈四娘

"Chu Wen-siu and Lo Tszĕ-chung were befriended. They both "held state-offices in Liang (Khai-fung, in Honan province). The "former died, and the other bewailed him, thereupon breathing his "own last also that same night. Seven miles south of Liang stands "the Fowl mount, where they buried Wen-siu; his friend they "interred in the Pheasant vale, nine miles to the north of the town. "Wen-siu's soul changed into a cock, and that of Tszĕ-chung "became a pheasant; and the melancholy tones of their shrill voices "resound there to and fro continually" [1].

Intimacy kept up after death in bird's shape by affectionate souls and enamored couples, is in China the topic of many a tale. So, "a daughter of the Ruler of Wei, being married to the heir-apparent "of Ts'i, heard, while on the way to his home, that he had died. "She asked her bridal matron what she was now to do. 'You "must go there, and mourn for him', was the answer. When she "had finished her mourning, she refused to return to her own "family, and followed her consort into the other life. The afflicted "matron grasped the lute which the maid was wont to play, and "drummed it on her tomb. Suddenly two pheasants came forth "out of it. With the words: 'My girl, have you really become a "pheasant?' she caressed the hen; but before she could finish that "phrase the two birds flew up, and suddenly vanished. Deeply "moved, the matron took the lute and played a ballad, called

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子亦來、値君家雞乳、共投胎爲鷄、前日所戕雌則賈四娘子也。茲復害我忍心如是。

尉悉聆其說。立釋之、歸白郡守。守呼魏翁與雞。俱至、民從如市。鷄對守誦言如初、已而曰、我禽畜輒泄陰事當死。引頸插翅下而斃。守嗟異、移時使葬於老子廟後、楬之曰、人鷄之墓. *Ch'en-cheu chi* 陳州志 or Memoirs concerning Ch'en-cheu; T S. sect. 禽虫, ch. 36.

1 朱文繡與羅子鍾爲友。俱仕於梁。繡旣死子鍾哭之、其夜亦亡。梁南七里有鷄山、繡葬於其中、北九里有雉淵、埋鍾于其內。繡神靈變爲雞、鍾魂魄化爲雉、清鳴哀響往來不絕. *I yuen.* T S. sect. 坤輿, ch. 138.

"on account of that: The Pheasants fly up in the Morning" [1].

Of all animals in China none are so celebrated for attachment between the male and the female as the mandarin duck. Instances are recorded of the male bird being caught, plucked, and boiled piecemeal in a cauldron, and her mate wildly flying out of the air into the bubbling water, thus showing a conjugal fidelity on a par with that of the suttee jumping into the flaming pyre which devours the corpse of her husband or bridegroom. It is quite rational therefore that literature should afford instances of loving souls having changed into those ducks after death. One is that of Han P'ing and his wife, which we have put into English on page 470 of Book I. In the following tale, apparently of much later date, it is not the souls of the lovers that change into the ducks, but their bodies:

"In the time of the Sung dynasty there lived in Ch'ao-cheu "(the Swatow region) a rich man. Taking a walk on the riverside, "he saw two children with beautiful features, who told him they "were a twin brother and sister who, having lost their parents "at an early date, were then brought up in the family of their "maternal uncle. But the wife of this man could not stand them, "so that they had to spend their young lives begging for food. "They were now thirteen years old. The rich man took them with "him to his house. The brother showed himself a good fisher, "whom neither wind nor storm could detain from this business; "the fish he got, which he did not give to his master, was shared "by him with his sister, and eaten. And the latter occupied herself "exclusively with making a most perfect sort of embroidery of "feathers of mandarin ducks, displaying at this work the utmost "dexterity.

"Three years passed on, and the girl was grown. Then the rich "man wished to deflour her; but she regularly declined his offers,

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[1] 衞侯女嫁於齊太子、中道聞太子死。問傅母曰何如。傅母曰、且往當喪。喪畢不肯歸、從之以死。傅母悔之、取女所自操琴、於塚上鼓之。忽有二雉俱出墓中。傅母撫雌雉曰、女果爲雉耶、言未卒俱飛而起、忽然不見。傅母悲痛援琴作操、故曰雉朝飛. *K'in ts'ing ying* 琴清英 or Pure Beauties of the Lute, a work ascribed to Yang Hiung who died in A.D. 18. From the K K, 461.

"pleading unfitness for forcible defloration on account of her youth. "She then wrote the following verse on his coat:

"Your find appears to you to be a beautiful maid
"That might rest on your opulent bed every day;
"But pollution, albeit buried under flowers, has no charms for her,
"For nothing else is she than an embroidering duck.

"'Men', thus her brother spoke, 'are so hard to rely on; we "had better leave them'. Thus the girl inscribed a verse on the "wall, reading:

"The whole day long I made duck-feather embroidery,
"Being too lazy to handle the broom in the crescent moon;
"We now return to our watery, cloudy home,
"There to grow older together for a hundred years.

"They then changed into a couple of mandarin ducks, and "flew away" [1].

Of an old were-duck we hear in the following tale: "One Cheu "Fang, who lived under the Tsin dynasty, was travelling in the "prime of his life on the Yang-tszĕ in the company of some "merchants, who, one evening, when they put up in a storied "temple, discussed under the storey which of them would venture "to pass the night therein. Fang, a bold character, said he would, "and ascended into the temple, to do so. Late in the night, just

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[1] 宋時潮州有富人。江行見二子、美貌、曰一兄一妹雙生也、早失怙恃、養於舅氏。舅母不容、丐以度日。年十三矣。因攜以歸。兄能捕魚、風雪不倦、得魚獻主之外分爲二子啖焉。妹專繡刺鴛鴦毫毛俱備、極其工巧。

居三年女長。富人欲犯之、輒辭、年幼不可强。題詩其襦間、云

覓得如花女 | 百花渾不愛
朝朝依繡牀 | 只是繡鴛鴦。

兄曰、依人爲難、不如去之。女題詩於壁、曰

終日繡鴛鴦 | 且歸水雲鄉
懶把蛾眉掃 | 百年可偕老。

化雙鴛鴦飛去. *Kiang Hu ki wen* 江湖紀聞 or Narratives and Reports from Kiangsi and Kiangnan, Hupeh and Hunan; TS, sect. 禽虫, ch. 47.

"as day broke, he saw in the building an old man with hoary "hair, who, as he seized him, changed into a drake. Fang caught "this bird, and returned to the boat to cook it; but it flew away "without any change of shape" [1].

The forms which herons are reputed to select when they assume anthropomorphosis, are generally those of pretty girls. Tᶜao Tsᶜien tells us of "a man of Tsᶜien-tᶜang (in Chehkiang), bearing the sur- "name of Tu, who, while travelling by boat, saw on the bank, "during a thick fall of snow, a girl appear in the evening dusk, "dressed in plain white garments. 'Why do not you come on "board?' Tu asked, and dallying with her, neared the bank and "took her on board; but she turned into a white egret and flew "off. This incident impressed Tu so disagreeably that he sickened "and died" [2].

Crows or ravens, too, are not seldom metamorphosed souls of the dead. "One Mr. Lü of Tung-pᶜing, a man of the principality "of Lu, lived in Ching. He had a wife whose maiden name was "Hwang. This woman fell ill, and when on the point of dying "said to her husband's mother: 'I am deadly ill; I have heard "that men become ghosts after their death, and it has always "displeased me that, if men and ghosts have no intercourse, "the grief of the surviving is increased. My mother-in-law, you "love me so dearly; when I am dead I will speak with you "in your dreams'. And after her demise, the mother-in-law really "has a dream in which Mrs. Hwang appears to her. 'Though "I have done nothing culpable all my life', she complains, "bathed in tears, 'I live now as a being of another class in the "jungle in the eastern wilds of Ching. A being I am with black "and glossy wings and a doleful voice; after seven days I will visit "you, and I hope you will then remember our good old times,

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[1] 晉周昉少時與商人泝江俱行、夕止宮亭、廟下同侶相語誰能入廟中宿。昉性膽果決、因上廟宿。竟夕晏然晨起、廟中見有白頭老翁、昉遂擒之、化爲雄鴨。昉捉還船欲烹之、因而飛去、後竟無化. From the *Shuh i ki*; K K, ch. 462.

[2] 錢塘人姓杜船行時大雪日暮有女子、素衣來岸上。杜曰、何不入船、遂相調戲、杜擁船載之、後成白鷺飛去。杜惡之、便病死. *Sheu shen heu ki*, ch. 9.

"without thinking yourself thwarted because I belong to another "class of beings'. With these words she is gone. The seven days "elapse, and a crow comes from the east down upon Lü's house. "Perching on a tree in the courtyard, it croaks for some time so "mournfully that the mother-in-law bursts into tears; — 'you are "the being I dreamed of', she says, 'and you come right down on "our house because earthly life is not effaced from your memory'. "And forthwith the bird flies into the hall, there hopping about "with fluttering wings and doleful cawing. After some moments "it flies away in an easterly direction" [1].

Tales of men and women having changed into corvine birds must be extremely old in China, as we have one in the *Shan-hai king*. "On mount Fah-kiu a bird is found, which has the shape of "a crow. It has a spotted head, a white bill, and red claws. Its "name is tsing-wei; its voice sounds as tszĕ-hiao. That bird "is a young daughter of the emperor Yen (*i. e.* Shen Nung, "28th. cent. B.C.), named Nü-wa. This maid being drowned on a "voyage on the eastern sea, she did not come home, but became "a tsing-wei, which always carried wood and stones in its bill "from the western mountains, to fill up the sea with" [2]. Of this yarn we find slightly varied readings in books of later date,

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[1] 東平呂生魯國人、家於鄭。其妻黃氏。病將死、告於姑曰、妾病且死、然聞人死當爲鬼、妾常恨人鬼不相通、使存者益哀、今姑念妾深、妾死必能以夢告於姑矣。及其死姑夢見黃氏來。泣而言曰、妾平生時無狀、今爲異類生於鄭之東野叢木中。顯其翼嗷其鳴者當是也、後七日當來謁姑、願念平生時、無以異類見阻。言訖遂去。後七日果一烏自東來至呂氏家。止於庭樹、哀鳴久之、其姑泣而言曰、果吾之夢矣、汝無昧平素、直來吾之居也。其烏卽飛入堂中、迴翔哀戾。僅食頃方東向而去. *Süen-shih chi*; K K, ch. 462.

[2] 發鳩之山有鳥焉、其狀如烏。文首白喙赤足。名曰精衛、其鳴自詨。是炎帝之少女、名曰女娃。女娃遊于東海溺而不返、故爲精衛、常銜西山之木石以堙于東海. Chapt. III, 北山經.

but we may skip them, as of no interest. Another daughter of the same mythic sovereign is standard evidence of the possibility of transformation of men into magpies. "The daughter of Yen, the "emperor of the South", thus a work of the tenth century relates, "studied the ways of salvation, and became an immortal "being (sien). She resided in a mulberry tree on a steep hill in "Kao-yang (in the present prov. of Pehchihli). On Newyear's day "she picked up wood with her mouth and made a nest of it. "Sometimes she became a white magpie; at other times she had "the shape of a woman, and as this aroused the compassion of the "Red Emperor (Yen), who had perceived her, he tried to persuade her "(to give up this mode of life), but his attempts were vain. So he "burned down the nest with fire, whereupon the girl ascended "immediately into the sky. Thus the Mulberry of the Emperor's "Daughter became a celebrated object. Here we have, more-"over, the origin of the custom of burning magpie-nests till the "fifteenth day (of the first month of the year), and of making "solutions of the ashes thus obtained, in order to wash the silk-"worm eggs with; while for the rest we see here how it is that "the magpie is called Spirit-girl" [1].

The crane is celebrated throughout China for living hundreds, nay, thousands of years. Authors describe it as a bird accompanying especially the sien who obtained bodily immortality, and serving them for vehicles; and very often we are informed of such sien changing into the bird, and of cranes in their retinue taking human forms. But the place which the crane holds in Chinese animism and in ideas on metamorphosis, does not differ in any respect from that of other birds, as a few tales may illustrate:

"Ting Ling-wei", thus T'ao Ts'ien relates, "originally a Liao-tung "man, studied the ways of salvation on mount Ling-hü. He then "changed into a crane, returned to Liao, and there placed himself on a "honorific column at the city-gate. A young man raised his bow to "shoot him, but he flew away and soaring about in the air, exclaimed:

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[1] 南方炎帝女學道得仙。居高陽崕山桑樹上。正月一日銜柴作巢。或作白鵲、或作女人、赤帝見之悲慟、誘之不得。以火焚之、女卽升天。因名帝女桑。今人至十五日焚鵲巢、作灰汁、浴蠶子本此、故鵲一名神女也. TS, section 禽虫, ch. 21; from the *Kwang i ki.*

"This bird here, this bird here, is Ting Ling-wei,
"Who was away from home for a thousand years, and now returns
"To find the population of this city as bad as ever it was.
"Why do not they study the way to become immortals by masses?
"With these words he flew up into the sky. At present the
"Ting tribe in Liao-tung pretend that a member of their former
"generations has ascended as an immortal being; but neither his
"name, nor his cognomen have been saved from oblivion" [1].

And Yü Pao recounts: "More than a hundred miles south of
"the Yung-yang district stands mount Lan-yen, a lofty top rising
"a thousand chang up into the air. A couple of cranes with white
"down, glossy and clean, fly thither to roost whenever the eventide
"casts its shades. Tradition asserts, that in days of yore there lived
"in that mountain a man and wife in seclusion for several centuries.
"They then changed into a pair of cranes, flying to and fro inces-
"santly, until, one fine morning, one of them was killed by a
"man. Then year by year the other bird uttered there its plaintive
"cries, and to this day its voice affects the peaks and valleys.
"Nobody can tell the year of this incident" [2].

Koh Hung knew of a whole army that had turned into cranes, monkeys and insects in the tenth century before our era. "When", thus he wrote, "king Muh of the Cheu dynasty sent out an "expedition to subjugate the South, his whole army changed "into monkeys and cranes, while the inferiors became insects and

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[1] 丁令威本遼東人、學道于靈虛山。後化鶴、歸遼、集城門華表柱。時有少年舉弓欲射之、鶴乃飛、徘徊空中而言曰、

有鳥有鳥丁令威　城郭如故人民非
去家千年今始歸　何不學仙家纍纍

遂高上冲天。今遼東諸丁云其先世有升仙者、但不知名字耳. *Sheu shen heu ki*, ch. 1.

[2] 滎陽縣南百餘里有蘭巖山、峭拔千丈。常有雙鶴、素羽皦然、日夕偶影翔集。相傳云、昔有夫婦隱此山數百年。化爲雙鶴、不絶往來、忽一旦一鶴爲人所害。其一鶴歲常哀鳴、至今響動巖谷。莫知其年歲也. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 14.

"sand" [1]. Often we find the crane confounded in myth with the k u h [2], a web-footed bird not belonging to the wading family, likewise reputed to live many thousand years. We have it under human disguise in the following old story, which relates of three such birds that were the actual cause of Sun Khüen [3], a martial hero in the epoch of the downfall of the Han dynasty and the synchronous rise of the Three Kingdoms, being able to cut out for himself the realm of Wu and establish himself as monarch there. "Sun Chung, a Fu-ch'un man, was the father of Kien (who was "K'üen's father). He lived with his mother; extremely filial was his "conduct, and his character was honest and sincere. He earned a "living by raising gourds. Once it happened that three young men "of nice appearance and grandly dressed, visited him, and asked "for a gourd. He set some food before them, fetched a gourd, and "was so active and zealous in paying them honors that the triad, "when on the point of starting, said: 'We are the Directors of "Fate; moved by the liberality with which you have received "us, it is our wish that either [the dignity of feudal prince "shall be held by your family during a series of generations, or "that of Son of Heaven for a few'. 'The Sonship of Heaven for "a few generations', replied Chung, 'would pleaseme much'. They "then assigned a piece of ground for him to be buried in, left the "house, and changed all into white k u h" [4].

The following legend of the T'ang dynasty relates of a woman's corpse changing into a live parrot. "Liu Ts'ien, a commoner of "Lung-yiu, was a member of a very wealthy family. He possessed "not more than one daughter, whose hair was just done up (in

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[1] 周穆王南征、一軍皆化爲猿爲鶴、小人爲虫爲沙. *Pao P'oh-tszĕ;* see T S, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 86.

[2] 鵠. [3] 孫權.

[4] 孫鍾富春人、堅父也。與母居、至孝、性篤。種瓜爲業。忽有三年少、容服妍麗、詣鍾乞瓜。鍾爲設食、出瓜、禮敬慇懃、三人臨去曰、我等司命郎、感君接見之厚、欲連世封侯、欲數世天子。鍾曰、數世天子故當所樂。因爲鍾定墓地、出門悉化成白鵠. *I yuen*, quoted in the T S, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 10. The reader knows from our dissertation on F u n g-s h u i (Book I, p. 935) that graves regulate the destiny of the descendants of those buried therein.

"token of her being marriageable); a beauty she was, gracious and "clever. No wonder that lovers came continually to ask her in "marriage, but her father still withheld his assent. The family "kept a parrot, which could speak as no other bird could. Every "day the maid tattled with it, and in the end she got the bird "to recite a whole chapter of a Buddhist Sutra, correcting its "mistakes; and she kindled incense whenever the bird muttered this "holy book.

"One day the parrot says to the maid: 'Open my cage and get "into it yourself; I must be off'. 'What do these words mean?' the "girl asks, astonished. 'Originally you had the same shape as I "have', is the reply, 'and you obtained your present form here in "Liu Ts'ien's house. You must return now to your own tribe; be "not astonished at my telling you such things; men do not know "you, but I do'. The scared girl apprises her parents of the event. "They open the cage and let the bird out, and they watch over "the girl day and night; but for all that she dies in three days "from no direct cause. The parents, affrighted as they are, weep "incessantly. They are on the point of burying her, when the "corpse suddenly becomes a white parrot, which flies away to "regions unknown" [1].

Even the small specimen of the feathered tribe, as kingfishers, sparrows and swallows, may be were-birds in China. "Chang K'ioh "strayed far up the Chah river, when he saw at a brook with

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[1] 隴右百姓劉潛家大富。惟有一女初笄、美姿質。繼有求聘者、其父未許。家養一鸚鵡、能言無比。此女每日與之言話、後得佛經一卷鸚鵡念之、或有差誤女必証之、每念此經女必焚香。

忽一日鸚鵡謂女曰、開我籠、爾自居之、我當飛去。女怪而問之、何此言耶。鸚鵡曰、爾本與我身同偶、託化劉潛之家、今須却復本族、無怪我言、人不識爾、我固識爾。其女驚白其父母。父母遂開籠放鸚鵡飛去、曉夕監守其女、後三日女無故而死。父母驚哭不已。方欲葬之、其屍忽爲一白鸚鵡飛去、不知所之. KK, ch. 460, from the *Ta T'ang khi shi* 大唐奇事 or Strange Matters during the T'ang Dynasty, a work in ten chapters by Li Yin, the author of the *Siao siang luh* (see page 200).

"white p'in plants two girls in a dress as blue as jade, who took "him along with them by his hands, greeting him with a chant. "He followed them, on which they turned into blue king- "fishers and flew off" [1]. — "And in times gone by, a swallow "flew into a human dwelling and changed into a tiny girl, hardly "three inches high, who said that she was a woman from heaven, "able to foretell good and evil. Hence it is that swallows are to "this day called Celestial Women" [2].

"Yang Pao of Hung-nung was a compassionate and amiable "man. When nine years old, he saw in mount Hwa-yin a yellow "finch seized by an owl and cast out of a tree, wounded and torn "in many places, thereupon falling a prey to the torments of "crickets and ants. He puts the bird into his bosom, takes it "home, and places it on the roof-beam. Hearing it cry piteously "in the night, he takes a light and looks at it; and finding it "attacked by mosquitoes, he puts it in a linen box, and feeds it "on yellow flowers. In about ten days the feathers have so grown "that the bird can use its wings. Every morning it flies out, to "come back in the evening and pass the night in the box; and "this it does for several years, when suddenly it appears with "quite a flight of finches, which fly round the hall for several days "with doleful cries, and then depart.

"That same night, in the third watch, Pao is absorbed in the "study of the *Shu king*, when a lad in yellow dress accosts him. "'I was an envoy of Wang-mu (the Queen of the Immortals)', he "says, 'commissioned to P'eng-lai, when an owl grasped me and "your generosity saved my life. Now accept a reward, got from "the Southern Ocean'. And taking leave, the lad gives him four "rings of jade, saying: 'These rings will keep your sons and grand- "sons clean and pure; they represent the dignities of three Prime

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[1] 張確嘗遊雪上、於白蘋溪見二碧衣女子、攜手吟咏。確遂之、化爲翡翠飛去. *Shu hüen luh* 樹萱錄, a collection of tales mentioned in the Catalogue of the New Books of the T'ang Dynasty (ch. 59, l. 20), with the statement that it consisted of one chapter. Ma Twan-lin (*Wen hien t'ung khao*, ch. 215, l. 15) attests that in his time the author was unknown. We quote from the T S, sect. 禽虫, ch. 46.

[2] 昔有燕飛入人家、化爲一小女子、長僅三寸、自言天女、能先知吉凶。故至今名燕爲天女. *Lang hüen ki*; T S, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 25.

"Ministers, which they will attain to'. Pao's filial piety became "celebrated all over the world. His reputation and position increased "in glory day by day. His son Chen begot Ping, and Ping begot "Piu, and the four men all became renowned Prime Ministers. "When Chen was buried, a large bird flew down (to fetch his "soul). Everybody declared that all those good things had been "gained by his genuine filial devotion" [1].

12. Man-fishes.

The peculiar shape and habits which distinguish the piscine class so sharply from all other animals, has not prevented the Chinese from framing numerous myths on the transformation of fishes from and into reptiles, birds, mammals, and even men. So it has been, and still is the opinion of many, that Kwun, Yao's Minister who failed to master the great inundation which, now some forty centuries ago, distressed the Empire, did not, as some pretend (see page 196), change into a bear, but into a fish. "When Yao", thus wrote Wang Kia in the fourth century of our era, "ordered Kwun of the Hia family to restrain the waters, and this "work was not achieved in nine years, Kwun plunged into the "abyss of Yü, and changed into a black fish" [2]. Obviously this

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[1] 宏農楊寶性慈愛。年九歲至華陰山、見一黃雀爲鴟梟所搏、逐樹下傷瘢甚多、宛轉復爲蠻蟻所困。寶懷之以歸、置諸梁上。夜聞啼聲甚切、親自照視、爲蚊所齒、乃移置巾箱中、啖以黃花。逮十餘日毛羽成飛翔。朝去、暮來宿巾箱中、如此積年、忽與羣雀俱來、哀鳴遶堂數日乃去。

是夕寶三更讀書、有黃衣童子曰、我王母使者、昔使蓬萊爲鴟梟所搏、蒙君之仁愛見救、今當受賜南海。別以四玉環與之、曰令君子孫潔白、且位登三公事如此環矣。寶之孝大聞天下。名位日隆。子震、震生秉、秉生彪、四世名公。及震葬時有大鳥降。人皆謂眞孝招也. *Suh ts'i hiai ki.*

[2] 堯命夏鯀治水、九載無績、鯀自沉於羽淵、化爲玄魚. *Shih i ki*, ch. 2.

reading of the myth owes its existence to a play upon the name Kwun, the written form of which (鯀) contains, according to Wang Kia himself, probably the sign 纟 (or 玄): black, at the side of that for fish (魚)"[1].

The idea expressed by this old yarn, that the drowned may change into fish, recurs in the literature of later times. So, Luh Ki[2] wrote in the third century of our era in his "Explanatory Notes on the Plants, Trees, Birds, Quadrupeds, Insects and Fishes mentioned in Mao's *Shi king*"[3], "that those drowned in the sea change into wei"[4], which is probably a kind of sturgeon. Associated with this superstition is another, according to which eels are metamorphosed hairs of the dead. Perhaps this idea may have its foundation in the observation that these fishes use to shoal in great numbers about floating or submerged carrion. "In the fifth year "of the I hi period of the Tsin dynasty (409)", thus we read, "when "Lu Siün came from Kwang-cheu and dropped anchor in Kiangsi, "a great number of people there had fallen victims to an epidemic; "and when the commotion caused by this catastrophe had subsided, "people who travelled to Ts^cai-cheu (in Honan) observed that the "hair of the dead had changed into eels. In our days, the General "Shang Chen-si and the Marshall Chang Shi saw a coffin on "the banks of the Hwangho, and a shoal of eels at the head "of it. They ordered it to be lifted up, and perceived that they "were all hairs, some of which had not yet undergone trans-"formation. It is generally averred that if a man washes his head "with gruel of glutinous rice in his life, his hair will change "into eels on his death. And formerly there was a man who could "not do without eels at his meals; after his death they replaced "his coffin by another, and found it full of those fishes"[5].

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1 鯀字或魚邊纟也. *Ibid.* 2 陸璣.

3 That is to say, the text of the *Shi king* as it has been saved from oblivion by the pen of Mao Ch^cang 毛萇, a scholar of the second century B.C.

4 鮪、溺死海中化爲此魚. *Mao shi ts^cao muh niao sheu ch^cung yü shu* 毛詩草木鳥獸蟲魚疏, second part, at 有鱣有鮪. This work was once lost, and the edition now current was reconstructed from fragments other authors had extracted from it.

5 晉義熙五年盧循自廣州下泊船江西、衆多疫死、事平之後人往蔡州、見死人髮變而爲鱣。今上鎮西參軍與司馬張逝瞻河際有一棺、棺頭

Once changed into a fish, nothing, of course, can prevent a drowned person from becoming the ancestor or ancestress of quite a new finny species. Thus, for example, existence was given to the so-called sea-swine [1], a large viviparous marine animal, also found in large rivers, which is caught especially for its oil. Ch'en Tsang-khi states, that just as they did the wild pig in Kwangtung province (p. 211), "the people in his time took those sea-swine for transformations of lazy housewives" [2]. The author of the *Shuh i ki* says: "In Kiangnan there exists a lazy-wife fish, which "the people say is a transformation of the wife of one Yang, "drowned by her mother-in-law. Its oil may be burned in lamps "and used as candles, which, when lighted for lute-players and chess-"players, emit a brilliant light, but do not shine clear at a spin-"ning-wheel" [3]. Thus the lazy nature of those water-pigs still shows itself from the unwillingness of the oil, extracted from their carcasses, to light industrious women at the performance of their household duties.

A book, confessedly a hundred and odd years older than the *Shuh i ki*, relates of fishes changing into men regularly every night. "In the wilds of the North there is a rock-lake, a thousand miles "square, and over five chang deep at its banks. It is always "frozen over, except in the fifty or sixty days before and after the "summer-solstice. That lake is inhabited by hung-kung fish, "seven or eight feet in length, shaped like carp, but of a red "colour. In the daytime they remain in the water, but at night "they change into men. Sharp weapons cannot be thrust into their "bodies, and when cooked they do not die, unless when two "black plums are subjoined" [4]. Among the many tales of man-fishes

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有鱣衆。試令撥看、都是髮、亦有未卽化者。一說云、生以秫瀋沐、死則髮變爲鱣。又昔有人、食不能無鱣、死後改棺、鱣滿棺中. *I yuen*; TS, sect. 禽虫, ch. 142.

1 海猪.

2 俗言懶婦所化也. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 44.

3 江南有懶婦魚、俗云、昔楊氏家婦爲姑所溺而死、化爲魚焉。其脂膏可燃燈燭、以之照鳴琴博奕則爛然有光、若照紡績則不復明焉. First part.

4 北方荒中有石湖、方千里、岸深五丈餘。恒

we possess, there are a good number the topic of which is a fish, or a lot of fish, caught and doomed to death, and then assuming human forms to beg for their lives. These stories are not sufficiently interesting to claim reproduction. Better reading is afforded by the following tale, recorded as an historical event in the Standard History of the Sui Dynasty:

"In the seventeenth year of the Khai hwang period (A.D. 597) "a Buddhist congregation met in the village of Yuen, four miles "south-westward from the city of Ta-hing (in the present Shensi "prov.). An aged, hoary-headed sire, dressed in a white skirt and "a long robe, came there and ate, and then went his way. None "of the crowd knew him. They followed him with curiosity, but "about two miles farther on he disappeared on a spot where "there was nothing but a pond with a white fish over one chang "in length, with a countless number of smaller fishes in its rear. "The people all tried to shoot the fish, but of some the bows "snapped, and of others the bow-strings broke; yet they succeeded "in the end in hitting it. They cut open its belly, and finding "cooked rice in it, they knew that the fish was the old man they "had just seen. A certain number of days elapsed, and the canal "then deluged its banks with impetuosity, drowning all those who "had shot at the fish" [1].

A similar legend, placed between the years 670 and 674 of our era, relates of a fisherman who caught a large fish, and found in its stomach the same food which had a short time before been given by his village-elders to a Buddhist mendicant monk [2]. Finally, the General Memoirs concerning Shensi relate:

"The grave of the carp is situated at ten miles westward from

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冰、惟夏至左右五六十日解耳。其横公魚長七八尺、形如鯉而赤。晝在水中、夜化爲人。刺之不入、煮之不死、以烏梅二枚煮之則死. *Shen i king.*

1 開皇十七年大興城西南四里有袁村設佛會。有老翁、皓首白帬襦衣、來食而去。衆莫識。追而觀之、行二里許不復見、但有一陂、中有白魚長丈餘、小魚從者無數。人爭射之、或弓折弦斷、後竟中之。剖其腹得杭飯、始知此魚向老翁也。後數日漕渠暴溢、射人皆溺死. Ch. 23, l. 7.

2 See the *Chao yé ts'ien tsai*, in the KK, ch. 469.

"the chief city of the district of Si-hiang, which lies in the Han-
"chung department. The citizens there were diking the Shui-ma
"river, when two Taoist doctors asked them for food. They gave
"them some rice, on which the doctors spoke: 'In a few moments
"two dragons will be here; do not kill them, else the river will forth-
"with wash away the dike, and render it impossible to finish it'.
"In a little while two carps appeared, playing on the surface.
"The dike-workers caught them, cut open their bellies, and saw
"rice come out. And the dike was washed away. They buried the
"fishes on a hill, and raised two tumuli over the spot" [1].

Also in China mermen and mermaids were known at an early date. "Their houses", thus we read in the *Shuh i ki*, "lie in the "South-Sea. They live in the water like fish, and ply the loom "incessantly. Their eyes can shed tears, and thus produce pearls" [2]. "The marine man-fish", another author says, "occurs in the Eastern "Sea. It attains a size of five to six feet. Its shape is that of a "man; its eye-brows and eyes, mouth and nose, hands, fingers and "head altogether are those of a beautiful maid, and accomplished "in every respect. White as jade are its skin and its flesh; it has "no scales, but downy hair in five colours, light and soft, one or "two inches long. Its mane resembles a horses-tail, being five by "six feet in length, and its sexual parts do not differ from those "of a man or a woman. At sea it lives in a lonely state. They "are often caught, and when kept in a tank they copulate in a "manner not different from that of men. They are quite harmless" [3].

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[1] 鯉魚墳在漢中府西鄉縣西十里。邑人修水馬河堰、有二道士求食。與之粟飯、曰、少頃當有二龍至、勿殺、殺則河立決堰、不可成矣。頃之二鯉魚戲波上。堰工捕得之、剖其腹、視粟飯出焉。堰遂決。魚埋山上、成二塚. *Shen-si tung chi*: TS, sect. 禽虫, ch. 139.

[2] 南海中有鮫人室。水居如魚、不廢機織。其眼能泣、則出珠. Part II.

[3] 海人魚東海有之。大者長五六尺。狀如人、眉目口鼻手爪頭皆爲美麗女子、無不具足。皮肉白如玉、無鱗、有細毛五色、輕軟、長一二寸。髮如馬尾、長五六尺、陰形與丈夫女子無異。臨海

Though the seals or dugongs described in these lines are not explicitly placed before us as human beings, yet they are invested too distinctly with human attributes to pass them unnoticed in this treatise of were-animals.

Also of shell-fishes changing into men Chinese books contain entertaining stories. So, "one Wu Khan in I-hing (pr. of Cheh-"kiang), a petty district official whose house stood near the King "brook, found a big univalvular shell-fish, which turned into a "maid, called thenceforth the Shell-fish Woman. The prefect of "the district heard of it, and asked for her; but Khan refused, "on which the prefect vexed him bitterly by giving him all sorts "of jobs to do. For instance, he told him to bring him some frog's "hair and arms of a spectre, threatening him with punishment "should he fail to obtain them. Khan told this to the Shell-fish "Woman, and she procured him the things desired; but then the "prefect was so unreasonable as to say: 'And now I want a mis-"fortune-bushel'. Again Khan informed the woman of it. 'A mis-"fortune-bushel is a beast', she said, and in a few moments she "brought one, an animal like a dog, which when given fire to "eat, voided it. The prefect, to try this, gave it some, and lo, sud-"denly it voided its excrements and thus set fire to the prefect's "mansion, so that the dignitary perished in the flames with his "whole family" [1].

Some more stories of women transformed from conches and shells might be inserted here, did space permit. The following one may suffice to content our readers:

"Teng Yuen-tso, a Ying-ch'wen man travelling for study in the

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鰥寡。多取得、養之於池沼交合之際與人無異。亦不傷人. *Hiah wen ki* 洽聞記, "Record of Collected Information", three chapters of antiquities of sundry parts of the Empire, by Ching Shang 鄭常 of the T'ang dynasty. K K, ch. 464.

[1] 義興吳堪爲縣吏、家臨荊溪、忽得大螺、已而化女子、號螺婦。縣令聞而求之、堪不從、乃以事虐堪。曰、令要蝦蟇毛鬼臂二物、不獲致罪。堪語螺婦、卽致之、令乃謬語曰、更要禍斗。堪又語螺婦。婦曰、此獸也、須臾牽至、如犬而食火糞以爲火。令與火試之、忽遺糞、燒縣宇、令及一家皆焚死焉. *Yuen hwa ki*; T S, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 163.

"Wu region, visits the high magistrate of Ch'ang-ch'ing, who "invites him to a sumptuous repast. On parting with this grandee "to go to Ku-su, he goes astray on a steep and tortuous path, "where he sees no human dwellings for many miles, and nothing "else than jungle. As it grows dark, he stretches out his neck "to scan the environs, and perceives a lamp-light. Thinking that "there might be a human dwelling there, he makes for that "direction, and sees a conch-like shed, with nothing in it but a "young maid of over twenty. He puts up there, and the maid, fit "to attract the admiration of the whole country, spreads out some "soft straw on a couch; and when he is seated, she brings him "some food. Yuen-tso, hungry as he is, consumes it, and finds it "very delicious. Then the girl sleeps by his side, but suddenly he "awakes at daybreak, to find himself lying in a field, with a "conch beside him of the size of a pint. Bethinking himself of the "things he has eaten the previous night, he feels very uncomfortable, "disgorges them, and sees they are nothing else than blue mud" [1].

13. Were-insects.

The belief in the possibility of transformation of men into insects is brought out in strong relief by a tradition, evidently of long

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[1] 鄧元佐者潁川人也、遊學於吳、因謁長城宰、延款暢飲。而別將抵姑蘇、誤入一徑甚險曲、凡數十里莫逢人舍、但蓬蒿而已。時日已暝、元佐引領前望、忽見燈火。意有人家乃尋而投之、既至見一蝸舍、惟一女子、年可二十許。元佐因舍焉、女乃嚴一土、榻上布軟草、坐定女子設食。元佐餒而食之甚美。女子乃就元佐而寢、元佐至明忽覺、其身臥在田中、傍有一螺、大如升子。元佐思夜來所餐之物、意甚不安、乃嘔吐、視之盡青泥也. TS, section 禽虫, ch. 163. The Thesaurus states it has this tale from the *Tsih i ki* 集異記, "Record of a Collection of strange Events", a small series of tales from the Sui and the T'ang time, ascribed to one Sieh Yung-joh 薛用弱, also named Chung-shing 中勝, a high officer of the ninth century. The work contains sixteen tales, which number agrees with that given in the older bibliographies, but I possess also a copy with four more. I do not find the above tale in either.

standing, according to which the precious silkworm owes its origin to such a metamorphosis. We find that tradition in the following form in the *Chung-hwa ku kin chu* [1], "Commentaries on the Ancient and Modern Times of the Flowery Middle Kingdom", a work of the tenth century:

"Silkworms are a transformation of an asterism called the Heavenly Team of Four; but why are they called Maidens? To this I answer:

"In times far remote, there was a man serving in the army "in a distant region. At home he had a daughter and a horse. "The girl, whose thoughts were with her father, said to the horse, "jestingly: 'If you can fetch my father home for me, I will marry "you'. At these words the horse broke the halter and ran to her "father, who, apprehending that something at home must be wrong, "mounted it, and returned to his house.

"From that moment, whenever the steed saw the girl, it turned "angry and excited, so that her father had to tie it up. Its "demeanour astonished him so much that he pumped the daughter, "who told him everything as it was. Then the father killed "the horse with a bowshot, and as he dried its skin in the "courtyard, the girl trampled it under her feet, saying: 'You, a "horse, wanted a human being for your wife; therefore we have "killed and skinned you; how do you like it?' No sooner had "she finished these words than the skin moved suddenly upward, "enveloped the girl, and ran off with her. When the father came "home he missed his daughter, and discovered her in a big tree, "where she entirely changed into a caterpillar, fixed to the tree by "means of threads. Her cocoon being thicker and larger than that "of ordinary caterpillars, the female neighbours took it away and "cultivated her, thus making twice as much silk as before. That the "present generation call silkworms Girls, rests on this old tradition" [2].

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[1] 中華古今註, a collection of short notes on a variety of subjects, by the hand of Ma Kao 馬縞, a high officer of the tenth century of our era. It is a reprint, amplified and amended, of a work likewise entitled *Ku kin chu*, ascribed to one Ts'ui Pao 崔豹 of the fourth century; but it is thought that this was lost under the Sung dynasty, and replaced by a spurious compilation drawn up from Ma Kao's work.

[2] 蠶爲天駟星化、何云女兒。答曰、
大古時人遠征。家有一女并馬一匹。女思父

There exist other versions of this legend. The oldest book in which we have found one, is the *Sheu shen ki*, which gives it, in its fourteenth chapter, in a form that shows that the above version of Ma Kao is merely copied from it with less verbosity. The legend bears some marks of an astrological origin, to which we shall have to refer again, when regarding its heroine in her position of patron-divinity of silk culture.

In far remote Chinese times, ladies of position changed into silk-worm moths. "In the time of Chwang of the kingdom of Ch'u", thus states a work of the sixth century, "the harem ladies one fine "morning changed into wild silkworm moths, and flew away" [1]. Changes of men into butterflies, and of butterflies into men are likewise recorded frequently. So it was opined by many that Han P'ing and his wife, whose story we related on page 471 of Book I, were transformed on their tragic death into butterflies. The possibility of such change may easily rise in the mind of men who represent to themselves souls as volatile things, and it is well known that the belief in it has been common in Europe [2]. It recurs also in the following Chinese tale, found in a work of the fourteenth century: "Yang Hao, whose cognomen was Ming-chi, "had married a wife in the Kiang family, young and beautiful. "After some years she had a son, and when Ming-chi died abroad, "a butterfly as big as the palm of a hand fluttered next day around "Mrs. Kiang, and did not leave her as long as the day lasted. "On her communicating the matter to her clansfolk, convoked "for the purpose, she burst into wailing, and there the butterfly "was again, flying around her, and it never left her in eating or

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乃戲馬曰、爾能爲我迎得父歸、吾將嫁汝。馬乃絕韁而去之父所、父縱家有故、乘之而還。

駿馬見女輒怒而奮、父繫之。父怪而密問其女、女具以實答。父乃射煞馬、曝皮於庭所、女以足蹙之曰、爾馬也欲人爲婦、自取屠剝何如。言未竟皮蹶然起、抱女而行。父還失女、後大樹之間得、乃盡化爲蠶、續於樹。其繭厚大於常蚕、鄰婦取養之、其收二倍。今世人謂蠶爲女兒蓋古之遺語也. Part III.

1 楚莊王時宮人一旦而化爲野蛾飛去. *Shuh i ki*, II

2 For which see *e. g.* Grimm, "Deutsche Mythologie", pp. 693 and 905.

"drinking, moving or resting. It was Ming-chi, who thus assumed "the shape of a butterfly to visit his home, impossible as it was to "him to cease loving his young wife and his baby son" [1].

The cicada, which attains in China the size of a finger, appears there only in the hottest summer months, and attracts general attention by its shrill chirping voice, distinctly audible at a distance of some hundred yards. The angry tone of it may account for the origin of an old legend, proving the early belief in transformations of the insect from men: "The consort of the king of Ts^{c}i died "from anger. Her corpse then changed into a cicada, which flew "into a tree in the courtyard, and there sat chirping out its shrill "tones, which filled the king's heart with remorse and spite. This "is the reason why the people call the cicada the Ts^{c}i woman" [2].

The chief place among the insects which appear in Chinese folk-lore under a human shape, or with distinct human attributes, is taken by the ant, whose intellect and social habits in many respects call to mind those of men, even among superficial observers. "Tung Chao-chi", thus Yü Pao relates, "a man of the Fuh-yang district, "in the Wu region, was ferrying over to Ts^{c}ien-t^{c}ang, and saw in "the middle of the river a big ant running up and down a short "rush stalk, in great anguish and excitement. 'This creature is in "fear of death', said he, and he was going to take it into the "boat, when the crew exclaimed in harsh terms: 'That poisonous "stinging beast! do not let it live, but tread on it!' But, full of "commiseration for the insect, Chao-chi tied the rush to the boat, "so that on her touching the land the ant could save itself out "of the water.

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1 楊昊字明之娶江氏、少艾。連歲得子、明之客死之明日有蝴蝶、大如掌、徊翔於江氏旁、竟日乃去。及聞訃聚族而哭、其蝶復來繞江氏、飲食起居不置也。蓋明之未能割戀於少妻稚子、故化蝶以歸爾. TS, sect. 禽虫, ch. 169; from the *Kwei-sin tsah shih* 癸辛雜識 or Miscellaneous Knowledge from the Kwei-sin Street, where the author lived. This was Cheu Mih 周密, also named Kung-kin 公謹, who flourished in the thirteenth century. The work is divided into four parts, containing in all six chapters.

2 齊王后忿而死。尸變爲蟬、登庭樹嘖唳而鳴、王悔恨。故世名蟬曰齊女也. The *Ku kin chu* of Ts^{c}ui Pao, at the end.

"Next night he dreamed that a man in a black coat, accom-
"panied by over a hundred others, came to thank him. 'I am
"an ant-king', he said; 'I tumbled into the river by my own
"imprudence, and feel ashamed for having had to be saved by
"you. Whenever you get into trouble, then come and tell it me'.
"More than ten years after this event, the place where Chao-chi
"lived fell a prey to pillagers, and he, unjustly put on the list as
"a brigand chief, was imprisoned at Yü-hang. Then he suddenly
"remembered the ant-king had told him in his dream to inform
"him, should he get into difficulty; but whither was he to send
"a message now? While putting his thoughts together to solve
"this problem, he was asked by one of his fellow prisoners (why
"he was so deep in thought), and Chao-chi told him the reason.
"'Well, take two or three ants upon your hand', said that man,
"'and explain to them what you want'. Chao-chi did so, and
"indeed, that night he dreamed that the man in the black dress
"said to him: 'Betake yourself quickly to the Yü-hang mounts;
"the empire is up in arms, but erelong there will be an amnesty'.
"At the same time he perceived that ants had gnawed his wooden
"manacles entirely away, so that he could escape out of the jail.
"He crossed the Yangtszĕ, retired into the Yü-hang mounts, and
"soon an amnesty was proclaimed, which saved him" [1].

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[1] 吳富陽縣董昭之嘗乘船過錢塘、江中央見有一蟻著一短蘆走一頭迴復向一頭甚惶遽。昭之曰、此畏死也、欲取著船、船中人罵、此是毒螫物、不可長、我當蹋殺之。昭意甚憐此蟻、因以繩繫蘆著船、船至岸蟻得出。

其夜夢一人烏衣、從百許人、來謝。云、僕是蟻中之王、不愼墮江、慙君濟活、若有急難當見告語。歷十餘年時所在劫盜、昭之被橫錄爲劫主、繫獄餘杭。昭之忽思蟻王夢緩急當告、今何處告之。結念之際同被禁者問之、昭之具以實告。其人曰、但取兩三蟻著掌中語之。昭之如其言、夜果夢烏衣人云、可急投餘杭山中、天下旣亂、赦令不久也。於是便覺蟻嚙械已盡、因得出獄。過江、投餘杭山、旋遇赦得免. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 20.

In this tale, were-ants and their king appear to its hero merely in his visions; but we must not lose sight of the fact that, as we have expounded elsewhere (p. 116), dreams are to the Chinese phenomena of perfect reality. There are more such curious tales on record of ants appearing as human beings to men in their dreams, even their nests appearing as cities with palaces and houses, in which the dreamers spend delightful hours. Especially popular is a narrative of the last quarter of the eighth century or the first of the ninth, in which a certain Shun-yü Fen [1] is introduced by some men into the capital of their country, called the Realm of Rest at the big Sophora tree [2]. Received there most courteously by the reigning king and entertained sumptuously, he finds everything as in the world of men, including Buddhist convents and Taoist monasteries. The king appoints him his vassal of a province named Nan-ko or Southern Branch [3], where he bears sway for twenty years, making himself most respected by the people, suppressing revolts, and going through all the adventures of a vassal's career. But the end is that he awakes, and inspecting with his servants a hole at the root of a Sophora close to which he has slept, finds an ants' nest in it, with a king, and a gallery leading right up to a branch on the south side of the tree, as also sundry other things corresponding to what he saw in his dream. This story, containing 3230 characters, was written by one Li Kung-tso [4], and is entitled *Nan ko ki* [5] or Story of the South Branch.

But, also, men fully awake have had their encounters with man-ants. They have seen them as regular files of soldiers, equipped for war, in glistering armour. Thus, "Hwan Khien, whose cognomen "was King-tsu, saw in the T'ai yuen period (A.D. 376—396) a troop "of men, all somewhat over an inch, with coats-of-mail on, carrying "large spears, and riding horses fully equipped. They swarmed "out of an opening in the ground, and ran about in the bright "sunlight over the roof of his house in groups of several hundred, "the commanders of the various divisions beating and pricking them; "and when the horses slackened, the men whipped and spurred "them to greater speed. Across a bench they found their way up "the furnace in search of food and drink, and as some discovered "minced meat, they assembled the others around it, those stronger

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1 淳于棼. 2 大槐安國. 3 南柯.
4 李公佐. 5 南柯記.

"than the rest taking it up on their spears, and straightway into "the hole. A Taoist doctor of the Tsiang mounts, named Chu "Ying-tszĕ, told Hwan Khien to make boiling water and pour it "out on the spot where they had withdrawn; then they turned "up the ground there, and got more than a bushel of big ants, "which lay dead in the hole. Hwan Khien's posterity was afterwards "murdered and exterminated" [1].

The oddest man-ant story we have seen, is the following: "The "Governor of Tung-yang, Chu Ya-chi, had a visit from an old "man in the Yuen hing period (A.D. 402), who appeared from "underneath the bed of his concubine Tung. He wore a yellow "petticoat and a quilt, and had a hat on. The hole he came forth "from was slippery and wet, and emitted a bad smell. Erelong "he is on the best terms with the concubine, and whenever "there is something good or evil to be expected, he forthwith "informs her of it. Once Ya-chi's child is attacked by a burning "fever. 'The testicles of a tiger must be fetched for this patient', the old "man says, and grasping a spear he enters the mountain, obtaining "there in fact the genitals of such a monster. They are still "lukewarm; he orders the child to consume them in a roasted "condition, and the fever subsides entirely. And regularly the "old man tells the concubine to comb his hair, which looks like "that of a wild boar. Afterwards, as Ya-chi goes somewhere to "sacrifice spirituous liquor, he sends a report of the matter to the "authorities, but then every trace of that individual is gone. He "now makes hot water, pours it into the hole, and unearths several "bushels of big ants. Without telling his fellow villagers a word "of it, he grasps a sword and strolls through the fields. Here "he falls in with a man, who, at the sight of the sword, pulls "forth a cake of gold and asks him to take it for that weapon; "and no sooner has he given it him than he vanishes from view.

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[1] 桓謙字敬祖太原中忽有人、皆長寸餘、悉被鎧、持槊、乘具裝馬。從垽中出、精光耀日遊走宅上、數百爲羣、部陣指揮更相撞刺、馬旣輕快人亦鞭捷。能緣几登竈尋飲食之所、或有切肉輒來叢聚、力所能勝者以槊刺取、逕入穴中。蔣山道士朱應子令作沸湯澆所入處、因掘之、有斛許大蟻死在穴中。謙後誅滅. *I yuen*; KK, ch. 473.

"He now examines that gold more closely, and sees that it is mere "cowdung. I think that this being was a Yaksha" [1].

The reasons which led to the invention of stories about intimate intercourse and affiliation of men with ants in human shape, were, of course, quite appropriate also for creating similar tales with respect to bees and wasps. So we read "that there existed in Lü-"ling a man, who, travelling to pass the examination for the "second literary degree, was overtaken by darkness, and repaired "to a country cottage, to ask for a lodging. An old man came "out, and seeing the stranger, said: 'My cottage offers but little "room and its inmates are numerous, but there is place for one "bed more'. Thus the guest put up in that house, which contained "over a hundred rooms, all extremely narrow and small.

"After a while he confesses his hunger. With the words: 'The "family are poor, and they live exclusively on wild plants', the "old man sets some such food before him, which the guest finds "quite different from ordinary food. Then he goes to bed, and "hears nothing but a humming noise. At daybreak he awakes, "and finds himself lying in the open field at the side of a nest "of big wasps. Hitherto he had suffered from rheumatism, but this "adventure cured him, in consequence of his eating the remains of "the food of the wasps" [2].

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[1] 東陽太守朱牙之元興中忽有一老公、從其妾董牀下出。著黃裳衿帽。所出之堦滑澤有臭。遂與董交好、若有吉凶遂以告。牙之兒病瘧。公曰、此應得虎卵服之、持戟向山、果得虎陰。尙餘煖氣、使兒炙噉、瘧卽斷絶。公常使董梳頭髮、如野猪毛。牙之後詣祭酒上章、於是絶跡。乃作沸湯、試澆此堦、拙得數斛大蟻。不曰村人捉大刀野行。逢一丈夫、見刀操黃金一餠、求以易刀、授刀奄失其人所在。重察向金、乃是牛糞。計此卽牙家鬼. *I yuen*; K K, ch. 474.

[2] 廬陵有人、應舉行、遇夜詣一村舍求宿。有老翁出、見客曰、吾舍窄人多、容一榻可矣。因止其家、屋室百餘間、但窄小甚。

久之告飢。翁曰、居家貧、所食惟野菜耳、卽以

It seems to have been observed in China that locusts swarm especially in times of war, probably because the depopulated plains, upturned no more by the plough, nor inundated for the cultivation of rice, offer a fertile soil for their eggs and larvæ to develop. We see, in fact, the idea prevail that those dreaded voracious insects are the revengeful souls of men perished in war or from its immediate consequences. "Locust plagues", thus wrote an author in the twelfth century, "always occur after great wars, and there-"fore those insects are sometimes considered transformations of the "grieved souls of the slain. Though this is not so certain, those "who expel the insects join in troops from time to time, hooting "and shouting; and if this fails to make them move elsewhere, "metal gongs and drums intimidate the insects, and make them "obey. Should the locusts swarm in rows or files, they are "deemed to be transformations of the mingled breaths (k h i) of "the killed and wounded, which conception is perhaps not quite "irrational" [1].

Even the most despised domestic vermin is represented as assuming sometimes a human form or human demeanour. "In Yü-chang", thus relates Yü Pao, "a slave woman stood at a furnace, when suddenly "there appeared at it a man, some inches in height. Unintentionally "she crushed him under her shoed foot, thus destroying a human "life. In a moment several hundred men appeared, in hempen "mourning-clothes. They brought a coffin with them, fetched the "corpse, performed the funeral ceremonies quite correctly, and carried "the coffin through the gate on the east side into the garden, where "they put it under an upturned boat. Approaching to see what "they did, the slave saw they were sow-bugs or wood-lice, which

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設、客食之、與常菜殊。及就寢惟聞訌訌之聲。既曙而寤、身臥田中、旁有大蜂窠。客嘗患風、因爾遂愈、蓋食蜂之餘爾. *Ki shen luh*; K K, ch. 479.

[1] 蝗災每見于大兵之後、或言戰死之士冤魂所化。雖未必然、然捕者往往羣呼聚噪、或不爲動、若鳴金擊鼓則聳然而聽。若成行列則謂殺傷沴氣之所化、理或然也. *Hoh lin yuh lu* 鶴林玉露, "Jade Dew from the Heron-forest", sixteen chapters of literary compositions and disquisitions by one Lo Ta-king 羅大經, alias King-lun 景綸, of whom very little is known. He lived probably in the twelfth century. T S, sect. 禽虫, ch. 176.

"she killed by pouring hot water on them, thus exterminating them" [1].

"And one Su Yin of Yang-cheu was asleep at night, when "he heard under his quilt several persons recite conjointly the "ballad of the O-fang Palace [2] in a quick, but low tone of voice. "Hastily he turned up the quilt to see what was there, and found "no transformed beings, but only ten or more bedbugs, as large as "peas. He killed them, and then heard the sound no more" [3].

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[1] 豫章有一家婢在竈下、忽有人長數寸來竈間壁。婢誤以履踐之、殺一人。須臾遂有數百人、著衰麻服。持棺迎喪、凶儀皆備、出東門入園中覆船下。就視之皆是鼠婦、婢作湯灌殺、遂絶. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 19.

2 A magnificent mansion built by Shi Wang, the great monarch of the Ts'in dynasty. Some hundred thousands of men were employed in forced labour in the construction of it.

[3] 揚州蘇隱夜臥、聞被下有數人齊念阿房宮賦、聲緊而小。急開被視之、無化物惟得蟲十餘、其大如豆。殺之卽止. T'S, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 188; from the *Chi kwai luh* 志怪錄 or Record of remembered Wonders. I find in the Catalogues three works of this name. One is by a certain Tsu T'ai-chi 祖台之, also named Yuen-ch'en 元辰, a high official of the Tsin dynasty, for whom see the Books of this House, ch. 75, l. 17. Another is by Luh Hiun 陸勳, who lived under the T'ang dynasty; and the third, in five chapters, is by Chuh Yun-ming 祝允明 of the Ming dynasty; see the *Szĕ khu ts'üen shu tsung muh*, ch. 144, l. 10. Perhaps the above extract is not even from one of these three, but from another work bearing the same name.

CHAPTER XI.

ON THE DESCENT OF MEN FROM ANIMALS.

Is there, according to the Chinese, any essential difference between men and animals? This question will, no doubt, be brought spontaneously to the lips of the reader by a perusal of our long dissertation on Zoanthropy.

The tales of changes of men into animals and animals into men, discussed therein, are numerous. And still they form only a small portion of what Chinese books enable us to gather in this field. Besides, we have to take for granted that many tales have been lost with the books in which they were found, and that still greater numbers were never committed to writing. In short, the total of those that Chinese brains have hatched, must amount to a figure really astounding. Seeing this, how can we possibly arrive at any other conclusion than that animals, even the smallest, were always looked upon in China as beings essentially identical with men?

Certainly there is in China's animal lore overmuch to show, that man and beast were always separated there at best by a line of demarcation so faint, that we might ask whether it ever existed at all. This tendency to identify those two classes of beings is not a trait peculiar to the Chinese. It is found elsewhere on the globe with tribes in low stages of culture. In China, however, it is given relief to by philosophy. Indeed, the national Taoistic ideas about the universality of Nature have, as we expounded in the First Chapter, allotted there in all times to every living thing a soul and a body imparted to it by the Cosmos, the sole Creator and Animator extant. Men and beasts thus alike are, both bodily and mentally, compounds of yang and yin substance. Hence, though their outward appearance may differ, their constitution is intrinsically homogeneous, and their shapes must, accordingly, be convertible into others.

No wonder, therefore, that Chinese books of every period teem also with notices on men and animals changing their sex, and on

beasts becoming beasts of quite other classes or species. They tell us of mammals evolving instantaneously from other mammals, from birds, fishes, or insects; of the smallest animals turned with the greatest ease into the biggest quadrupeds. Ancient authors are perfectly serious when they proclaim that mice change into birds or fish, tortoises and pheasants into snakes, snakes into frogs, frogs into quails, that cranes become musk-deer, swallows sea-clams and mussels, and birds other birds, according to the seasons; and modern writers slavishly re-echo their statements, as if to emphasize the fact that the belief in such transmutations has never been on the wane in China. It had reached its full development long before the Christian era, as Chwang-tszĕ then wrote:

"Germs are multitudinous. When they come into contact with "water, they enter into a continuity of conditions; when they reach "water and earth, they become the envelopes of frogs and oysters, "and if they germinate on hills and in fields, they become hill-sih. "This herb, when in contact with a yuh-si (a sort of insect), forms "crows' feet, the root of which plant may become grubs, and the "leaves butterflies. Butterflies are sü; by metamorphosis they may "become insects living under furnaces, which have the shape of "shed skins, and are called khü-toh. These insects after a thousand "days become birds known by the name of kan-yü-kuh, the "spittle of which produces szĕ-mi insects; these in their turn "become insects that prey on pickles, and from which i-koh are "produced. The hwang-cheu is produced from the kiu-yiu, and "the meu-flies from rotten flesh insects. So, also, the yang-hi "plant, when growing close to an old bamboo which sends out no "shoots, produces the tsʿing-ning, which produces the leopard, "which produces the horse, which brings forth man. Man in length "of time enters into the great Machine (of evolution), from which "all living beings come forth, to enter it (at death)" [1].

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[1] 種有幾。得水則爲鼃、得水土之際則爲鼃蠙之衣、生於陵屯則爲陵鳥。陵鳥得鬱棲則爲烏足、烏足之根爲蠐螬、其葉爲胡蝶。胡蝶胥也、化而爲蟲、生於竈下、其狀若脫、其名爲鴝掇。鴝掇千日爲鳥、其名爲乾餘骨、乾餘骨之沫爲斯彌、斯彌爲食醯、頤格生乎食醯。黃軦生乎九猷、瞀芮生乎腐蠸。羊奚比乎不筍久竹生青寧、

No doubt it would be going too far to charge such wild, unmuzzled notions on transmutation and procreation to mere crude observation, by untutored minds, of metamorphoses of insects and frogs; for this could hardly account for a belief in such births as of men from horses. It is only the absence of a sharp distinction between animated beings of different sort or class, which accounts for the matter satisfactorily. The identification of all animals forbids us also to see anything strange in the fact that Chinese works of all times, including the Dynastic Histories, often make mention of copulations of animals of quite different classes, and of the birth of hybrids resembling only one of their parents, or neither. Nor is there, from a Chinese point of view, anything very strange in the numerous cases, likewise recorded even in the best books on history, of animals producing young of quite other species or classes, altogether independent from previous copulation. Often such events passed for prognostics of the fate of the Crown or the people, and it was only in such cases that they were put on record. Hence we shall have to touch on them in treating of prognostication and of consultation of spirits.

After all, we cannot but deem it also a matter of course that there is found in Chinese literature much reference to sexual intercourse of men with beasts, and of the consequent birth either of animals, or of mongrels or men that gave existence in some cases to whole families, tribes and nations. We may not pass this phenomenon over in silence, as, otherwise, our sketch of Zoanthropy could hardly make a pretence to being complete. "In Tsin cheu", thus we read in a work of the tenth century, "in the district of "Shen-shan, there lived a commoner, Chang Meu by name, whose "wife dreamed that a person with a yellowish hairy coat and "a very slender waist, forced her, and withdrew after two "copulations. She became pregnant, craved for raw flesh, and "could never get enough. Regularly she had fits of rage, in which "her lips became dirty and she gnashed with her teeth, and more and "more her temper shewed wolfish perversities, till six months after "she gave birth to two little wolves. No sooner had they left her "womb than they ran away, but her father quickly knocked them "down. The wife now became deranged in mind, but after a

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青寧生程、程生馬、馬生人。人又反入於機、萬物皆出於機、皆入於機. Ch. VI, sect. 18, 至樂.

"year she recovered. The villagers dubbed her the wolves' mother"[1].

"Tu Siu-ki, a man of the Chao department (in Pehchihli), "was an able physician. His wife, the daughter of Sieh Yun, a "rich man living in the same department, was of a licentious and "dissolute character. The family kept a white dog, of which she "was very fond and which thus she fed regularly on costly food. "Once, when Siu-ki was out, the dog sneaked into the female "chamber and snapped at Siu-ki's wife, at the same time behaving "as if it wanted to gratify it lusts. Astonished, she said: 'Do you "want to know me? well, do not bite me then', and immediately "the dog wagged its tail and jumped into bed. Out of mere fear "she gave herself to the beast, which did its work in a way hardly "different from that of a man. Thenceforth, whenever Siu-ki was "out, the two were sure to indulge in sexual familiarities without "any self-restraint.

"One day they were just in the room and in bed, when Siu-ki "entered and surprised them. He was going to kill the dog, but "it escaped out of the house, on which he vented his indignation "on his wife by divorcing her. She returned to Sieh Yun's house, "where, ere half a year had elapsed, the dog rushed in, seized her "coiffure with its teeth, and ran off with her on its back. The "family rushed out after them, but did not catch them, and from that "time nobody knew their whereabouts. Straightway the beast took "the woman into the Heng mounts, where it concealed her, going "downhill every night to steal food for her, but watching over "her in the daytime.

"After a year she was pregnant, and gave birth to a boy. He had "a human form and a human countenance, but he was overgrown "with white hairs. Madam Sieh's only care in those mountains "was to bring him up, and when after an other year the dog "suddenly died, she wandered out of the mount, with the boy in "her arms, to Ki-cheu, there to beg. She fell in with a man "who knew what had happened, and he went to Sieh Yun, to

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[1] 晉州神山縣民張某妻忽夢一人衣黃褐衣、腰腹甚細、逼而淫之、兩接而去。已而姙娠、遂好食生肉、常恨不飽。恒秖唇咬齒而怒、性益狠戾、居半歲生二狼子。既生卽走、其父急擊殺之。妻遂病恍惚、歲餘乃復。鄉人謂之狼母. *Ki shen luh*; KK, ch. 442.

"tell him where she was; on which the latter had her fetched back "to his house by a member of his family.

"When her son was seventeen years old, his appearance became "ugly and coarse, his disposition savage and bad. From time to "time he ran away to commit theft and robbery, not returning "for ten days or so. This grieved Sieh Yun so deeply that he "resolved to kill him, but the mother secretly warned her child. "'You', she said, 'you are the fruit of a white dog's seed; I refused "to kill you when you were a baby; what makes you behave more "recklessly than ever now, while here with the Sieh family? If you "go away from home again of your own accord, to play the thief, "they are sure to murder you. I fear indeed you will have to "smart for your crimes. Improve!'. The boy now burst into cries "and tears. 'As I am the product of a dog's breath', he exclaimed, "'it is quite a matter of course that I should possess no human "heart, but that I should be disposed to murder and robbery; "why then do they find this so bad? If Sieh Yun tolerates me in "his house, he has to tolerate such things too; and if he cannot "keep me here, he ought to tell it me roundly; why then is he "going to murder me? Henceforth, mother, you will have to provide "for yourself; I had better go far away and not return'. In vain "the woman tried to detain him. 'I allow you to go', she said in "the end, 'but come back from time to time to see how I am, "for I, who am your mother, cannot bear the idea of never seeing "you again'. These words occasioned another outburst of wailing on "the part of the son. 'After three years I shall be back here', he "said; and with these words he grasped his sword, saluted his "mother, and was off.

"After the lapse of three years he appeared indeed at the gate, "at the head of over a thousand banditti, whose commandant he "said he was. He entered, paid homage to his mother, and ordered "the gang to murder Sieh Yun with the whole family, except her; "then setting fire to the house, they marched off, carrying the "mother along with them" [1].

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[1] 杜脩已者趙人也、善醫。其妻既趙州富人薛贇女也、性淫泆。脩已家養一白犬、甚愛之、每與珍饌食。後脩已出、其犬突入內室、欲嚙脩已妻薛氏、仍似有姦私之心。薛氏因怪而問之曰、爾欲私我耶、若然則弗嚙我、犬卽搖尾登其牀。

Two dignitaries with bears for their forefathers were, as we saw on page 115, mentioned by Szĕ-ma Ts'ien in his account of the famous dream of prince Kien-tszĕ. But tales of whole classes of men, nay, of entire peoples, generated from the union of men with beasts, were much in circulation before the T'ang dynasty. We read, for instance, in Yü Pao's work:

"In the south-western parts of the Shuh region (the present

薛氏懼而私焉、其犬略不異於人爾。後每修已出必姦淫無度。

忽一日方在室內同寢、修已自外入見之。欲殺犬、犬走出、脩已怒出其妻。薛氏後歸薛嶷半年、其犬忽突入嶷家、口銜薛氏髻而背負走出。家人趕奔之不及、不知所之。犬攜薛氏直入恆山潛之、每至夜卽下山竊所食之物、晝卽守薛氏。

經一年薛氏有孕、生一男。雖形貌如人而遍身有白毛。薛氏只於山中撫養之、又一年其犬忽死、薛氏乃抱子迤邐出山入冀州求食。有知此事者還詣薛嶷以告、嶷令家人取至家。

後其所生子年十七歲、形貌醜陋、性復兇惡。每私走作盜賊、或旬餘卽復還。薛嶷患之欲殺焉、薛氏乃私誡其子。曰、爾是一白犬之種子也、幼時我不忍殺爾、今日在他薛家豈合更不謹、若更私出外爲賊、薛家人必殺爾、實恐爾累及爾、當改之。其子大號泣而言曰、我稟犬之氣而生也、無人心好殺爲賊自然耳、何以爲過、薛嶷能容我卽容之、不能容我、當與我一言、何殺我、母當自愛、我其遠去、不復來矣。薛氏堅留之不得。乃謂曰、去卽可、可不時來一省我也、我是爾之母安忍永不見也。其子又號哭、而言曰、後三年我復來耳、攜劍拜母而去。

又三年其子領羣盜千餘人至門、自稱曰將軍。既入拜母、後令羣盜盡殺薛嶷家屬、惟留其母、焚其宅、攜母而去. *Siao siang luh*, T S, sect. 禽虫, ch. 118.

"province of Szĕ-ch'wen) there live, high up in the mountains, "beings of the monkey tribe, seven feet in height. They can assume "a human shape and, being excellent runners, chase men. They "are known as the people of the realm of kia animals, and also "as ma-hwa (horses' metamorphoses?), or, in some cases, as "kioh-yuen: apes and gibbons. They waylay female wayfarers and "kidnap the beauties from amongst them, running off with them "without the men becoming aware of it; and when such way- "farers pass near them, they drag them along with long cords, "which is another reason why they make no escape. Those beings "can distinguish the sexes by the smell, and they lay hands "upon women only, and not upon males. When one has caught a "woman, he builds a house for her. Should she not bear him a "son, she does not return home for the whole of her life, and in ten "years her shape becomes quite like her kidnapper's; her mind is "then bewildered so much that she longs for home no longer. But "if she gives birth to a child, she is sent back immediately with "it to her family. The child has always a human shape. Should "the mother not bring it up, she dies as a rule; hence, for mere "fear of such a fate, nobody has the courage not to do so. And "when grown up, the children do not differ from ordinary men in "any respect. They all adopt the surname of Yang; hence it is "that this tribal name is so common in the south-west of Shuh. "Those who bear it are altogether offspring from that kingdom "of kia animals or those ma-hwa" [1].

Of a similar character is the following tradition, inscribed under

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[1] 蜀中西南高山之上有物與猴相類、長七尺。能作人形、善走逐人。名曰猴國、一名馬化、或曰玃猱。伺道行婦女、有美者輒盜取將去、人不得知、若有行人經過其旁、皆以長繩相引、猶故不免。此物能別婁女氣臭、故取女、男不取也。若取得人女則爲家室。其無子者終身不得還、十年之後形皆類之、意亦迷惑不復思歸。若有子者輒抱送還其家。產子皆如人形。有不養者其母輒死、故懼怕之無敢不養。及長與人不異。皆以楊爲姓、故今蜀中西南多諸楊。率皆是猴國馬化之子孫也. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 12.

the House of T'ang in a small work of fiction: "Mr. Kieh, discoursing "with the savants on sundry countries, told them that there exists "in the north-west of the world a kingdom of women, taking "serpents for husbands. Their sons are serpents, which do not "bite, and which dwell in caverns. The daughters, however, become "concubines of ministers, as also magistrates and chiefs, living in "palaces and mansions" [1].

"In the last year of the Ts'ing t'ai period (A.D. 935)", thus runs a tale in a work of the tenth century, "Sü T'an, a graduate "of the second degree aspiring to the highest, peregrinated south- "ward from one lodging-place to another, and on arriving in Hiah- "cheu, (south-western Hupeh and north-western Hunan) looked "round for an inn of good old reputation. He found one at the "foot of the Fu-tui hill. That night he just laid aside his lute and "his books, when he perceived a woodcutter, lean and shrivelled, "with all the demeanour of a man bent under grief and cares. "T'an asked him from where he came, and, his eyes blinded "with tears, the man said: 'I live in this mount here; my tribal "name is Li, and my personal name is Ku-chuh. My wife suffered "from disease for several years, without recovering. Not long "ago I entered the jungle for some fire-wood and passed there a "few nights, and in my absence her body suddenly underwent "a transformation. Not liking to frighten others, she said to a "matron next-doors: 'My body has now another shape; please "go and tell my husband of it'. (On receiving this message) I "ran home, and she said: 'I could not stand my sufferings any "longer; this is only my carcass, please ask the neighbours to "kindly take it to the mountain-pass, and depose it there'. I did

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[1] 杰公嘗與諸儒語及方域云、四海西北有女國以蛇爲夫。男則爲蛇、不噬人而穴處。女爲臣妾官長而居宮室. *Liang szĕ kung ki* 梁四公記: "Writings concerning the four Gentlemen of the Liang Dynasty", a single chapter of strange matters professedly written by Chang Yueh 張說, a Minister, painter and poet who lived from 667 to 730. The Catalogue in the Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty (ch. 58, l. 19) says, however, the author is one Lu Sien 盧詵 (a misprint for 說?), adding in a note that one source calls him Liang Tsai-yen 梁載言, who lived in the eighth century. The four Gentlemen were, according to the work itself, mystic personages who visited the emperor Wu in the T'ien kien period (502—520). The piece is reprinted in the T S, sect. 神異, ch. 311.

"so, and they carried her to the spot. While strolling about "there, our ears were suddenly struck by a noise like a lowing "storm and pattering rain. We all stood panic-struck. 'My time "has come', my wife exclaimed, 'hurry home, but beware of "looking behind'. I was just telling her how sorry I was at "having to part with her, when I beheld on the hills around a "countless number of big snakes, emulously squirming down upon "my wife. She left her couch, stretched herself out, coiled herself "up, and changed into a big python, which had sexual intercourse "with the serpents, and squirmed off'. Then the man battered his "head upon a big stone, and sank to the ground, his head cracked "and broken.

"To this day there lives in that locality a family Li, who are "the progeny of that snake" [1].

According to first-class historical works of the sixth century, there existed a curious country, where women, by marrying semi-human dogs, produced boys with their father's shape and temper, but girls like themselves. "In the sixth year of the T'ien kien period

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[1] 清泰末有徐坦應進士舉予第、南遊渚宮、因之峽州尋訪故舊旅次。富堆山下有古店。是夜愁琴書訖、忽見一樵夫、形貌枯瘠、似有哀慘之容。坦遂詰其由、樵夫懦瞍而答曰、某比是此山居人、姓李、名孤竹。有妻先遘沈痾歷年不愈。昨因入山採木、經再宿未返、其妻身形忽變。恐人驚悸、謂鄰母曰、我之身已變矣、請爲報夫知之。及歸、語曰、我已弗堪也、惟尸在焉、請君託鄰人舁我置在山口爲幸。如其言遷至。於彼逡巡、忽聞如大風雨聲。衆人皆懼之。又言曰、至時、速廻、愼勿返顧。遂敘訣別之恨、俄見羣山中有大蛇無數競湊其妻。妻遂下牀、伸而復屈、化爲一蟒、與羣蛇相接而去。仍於大石上捽其首、迸碎在地。

至今有蛇種李氏在焉. *Yuh t'ang hien hwa* 玉堂閒話: "Gossip from the Jade Hall", three chapters of tales ascribed in the Catalogue of the Sung dynasty (History, ch. 206, l. 3) to Wang Jen-yü 王仁裕, a high statesman who lived from 880 to 956, famous as prose-writer and poet. Not possessing the work, we quote the above tale from the K K, ch. 459.

"(A.D. 507)", thus the Standard Annals of the Liang dynasty relate, "some men from Tsin-ngan (in Fuhkien) crossed the ocean, and "were cast by the wind upon an island, which they found inhabited. "The women were like those of the Middle Empire, but their speech "was incomprehensible. The men had human bodies with dogs' "heads, and their speech was something like the barking of dogs. "They lived on small peas; their clothes were of a stuff like linen; "they constructed walls of clay of a round shape, with gates like "burrows" [1]. In another form we find the same story related some centuries later in the Standard Annals of the five short-lived dynasties which existed between those of T'ang and Sung, viz. by one Hu Kiao [2], an officer who, after a stay of seven years among the barbarians in the north, came home in 953: "Further onward "to the north we have the Kingdom of Dogs. Its inhabitants have "human bodies with dogs' heads; their hair is long, they go naked, "and catch wild beasts with their hands. Their language is barking. "Their wives are perfect human beings, and understand Chinese. "The boys they give birth to are dogs, but their daughters "are women. They intermarry, and are troglodytes. They feed on "raw flesh, but their wives and daughters eat human food. It "has occurred that a native of the Middle Kingdom, who came "there, was advised by a married woman, who pitied him, to "flee quickly home, giving him at the same time some ten "chopsticks, one of which, she said, he had to drop every ten and "odd miles. The canine husband pursued him, but whenever he "saw a household utensil of his, he took it home in his jaws, "so that he could not overtake the man" [3]. Certainly we have

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[1] 天監六年有晉安人渡海、爲風所飄至一島、登岸有人居止。女則如中國而言語不可曉。男則人身而狗頭、其聲如吠。其食有小豆、其衣如布、築土爲牆、其形圓、其戶如竇云. Ch. 54, l. 28.

[2] 胡嶠.

[3] 又北狗國。人身、狗首、長毛、不衣、手搏猛獸。語爲犬嗥。其妻皆人、能漢語。生男爲狗、女爲人。自相婚嫁、穴居。食生、而妻女人食云。嘗有中國人至其國、其妻憐之、使逃歸、與其筋十餘隻、教其每走十餘里遺一筋。狗夫追之、見其家物必啣而歸、則不能追矣. Chapter 73, l. 8.

to look upon those narratives as nothing else than wild and embellished rumours about countries where the male inhabitants had repellent, ugly features and hairy skins, while the women answered better to the Chinese esthetical standard. But for all that, the fact that they occupy a place in works such as the Standard Annals, is significant, as it proves that the belief in sexual connection of men and beasts, with procreation of progeny, was in China a dogmatic belief even with learned and educated men of letters.

With still greater lucidity this phenomenon is brought out by traditions, likewise recorded in the Standard Histories as genuine truth, on a canine or wolfish origin of some foreign nations, including the aborigines of the present southern and south-eastern provinces, already mentioned by us now and then as Man. Not contented with ascribing to the latter a special capacity to change themselves into tigers (see page 167), public opinion also described them as the progeny of an ancient dog, since a treatise on them in the Books of the Later Han Dynasty, the oldest we possess, had stated that they were really so. It relates the following:

"In olden times, the reign of Kao-sin (26th. cent. B.C.) was "troubled by raids of the Dog Jung (living at the west of the "empire). The emperor deplored the cruelties committed in their "invasions, and marched an army against them, but they could "not be defeated. So he summoned all men in the empire who "could bring him the head of General Wu, the chief of those bar- "barians. A thousand gold pieces would be the price paid, besides "a domain inhabited by ten thousand families; and the emperor's "youngest daughter would be given him as a wife.

"At that time His Majesty possessed a dog with five-coloured "hair, which answered to the name of Pan-hu: 'Dish-gourd' [1]. After "the order had been given, this animal appeared at the gate with "a man's head in his jaws. The amazed courtiers examined it, and

1 This was not an ordinary dog, but the product of a curious metamorphosis. "In "Kao-sin's time, thus the Records of Wei state, there lived in the royal mansion "an old woman. Once she had a sore ear; she picked it, and a thing came out "of it, as large as a silkworm cocoon. This she put in a calabash, which she covered "with a dish; and on a sudden it changed into a dog with five-coloured spots. Hence "this animal was named Dish-gourd" 魏畧曰、高辛氏有老婦、居王室。得耳疾、挑之乃得物大如繭。婦人盛瓠中、覆之以槃、俄頃化爲犬、其文五色。因名槃瓠. Commentary of the T'ang dynasty.

"found it to be in fact that of the General. Great was the "emperor's delight. But he could not marry Dish-gourd to his "daughter, nor was there a way to enfeoff a dog. He resolved to "reward the animal, but he did not know how to do it, when "the girl heard of the matter, and declared that the emperor, "having issued the order, could not now violate his pledge. She "requested him to let her go, and so the emperor could not help "marrying her to Dish-gourd.

"The dog received the girl, placed her on his back, and ran "off to the southern mountains, into a cavern situated in a "dangerous, far distant place, where no human foot-print ever "appeared [1]). In three years she gave birth to a dozen children, "six boys and six girls, who, when Dish-gourd was dead, inter- "married. They wove clothes of rind, which they dyed with "shrubs and seeds, and they were especially fond of five-coloured "clothes, all cut out with a tail. Afterwards the mother returned "to her old home and related her adventures to the emperor, who "ordered her sons to be brought to Court. Their clothes were "striped like orchids, their talk sounded like the word chu-li; "they had a passion for wandering on hills and in glens, and disliked "level plains. In compliance with these idiosyncrasies, the emperor "assigned to them some vast valleys in the renowned mountains, "where their descendants ramified into tribes, called Man bar- "barians. Though outwardly stupid, they were inwardly crafty" [2].

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1 According to the Commentary of the T'ang dynasty, this lair was "somewhere "to the west of the Lu-khi district in Ch'en-cheu (in Hunan), in mount Wu. A "description of this mountain, written by Hwang Min, states it is about ten "thousand feet high. Halfway up is the grotto of Dish-gourd, with room for some "myriads of people. It contains a stone couch and the foot-prints of Dish-gourd. "There are still in front of a cavern in the Table mount some sheep and other "animals of stone, besides many other old relics and curiosities, and still more "look-out rocks. This cavern is spacious, and has the appearance of a chamber "with three compartments. In the distance a rock is visible with a shape "reminding one of a dog. Tradition among the Man people asserts this is "Dish-gourd's image" 今辰州盧溪縣西、有武山。黃閔武陵記曰、山高可萬仞。山半有槃瓠石室、可容數萬人。中有石牀槃瓠行跡。今案山窟前有石羊石獸古跡奇異、尤多望石。窟大如三間屋。遙見一石、仍似狗形。蠻俗相傳云是槃瓠象也.

2 昔高辛氏有犬戎之寇。帝患其侵暴而征伐、

With not less emphasis do the Standard Histories assert that the Turks are descended from a quadruped. "It is stated", thus say the Books of the Sui Dynasty, "that the realm of their ancestors, "situated above the Western Sea (Issik-kul?), was destroyed once "upon a time by an adjacent state, which, sparing neither sex, "nor age, exterminated all the inhabitants, except one boy, whom "they had not the heart to kill. But they chopped off his feet "and arms, and cast him into a vast marsh. Here a she-wolf "regularly brought him flesh, so that he could eat it and thus "escaped death. Afterwards he had sexual intercourse with that "wolf, and fecundated her. Then that realm sent again some people "to murder the boy, and they were going to kill the wolf also "that was with him, when, as if by the help of a god, she was "transported rapidly to the east side of the sea. Here she came "down upon a mountain, situated in the north-west of Kao-"ch'ang (Turfan). She retired into a grotto at its foot, and found "there fertile plains, clad in green, over two hundred square miles. "Afterwards she gave birth to ten boys, the first of whom adopted "the surname of Oshina and, being the cleverest, became their "chief. They placed standards with a wolf's head at the entrance

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不刻。乃訪募天下有能得犬戎之將吳將軍頭者。購黃金千鎰邑萬家、又妻以小女。

時帝有畜狗、其毛五采、名曰槃瓠。下令之後槃瓠遂銜人頭造闕下。羣臣怪而診之、乃吳將軍首也。帝大喜。而計槃瓠不可妻之以女、又無封爵之道。議欲有報而未知所宜、女聞之、以爲帝皇下令不可違信。因請行、帝不得已乃以女配槃瓠。

槃瓠得女、負而走入南山、止石室中、所處險絕、人跡不至。經三年生子一十二人、六男六女、槃瓠死後因自相夫妻。織績木皮、染以草實、好五色衣服、製裁皆有尾形。其母後歸以狀白帝、於是使迎致諸子。衣裳斑蘭、語言侏離、好入山壑、不樂平曠。帝順其意賜以名山廣澤、其後滋蔓號曰蠻夷。外癡、內黠. Ch. 116, ll. 1 *seq.*

"of their encampment, as a mark that they did not forget their origin"[1].

A wolf was also believed to be the progenitor of the principal stock of the Uigurs. "The people", thus two other Standard Histories relate, "assert that a shen-yü of the Hiung-nü had two "daughters, so beautiful in form and face that they passed in the "whole realm for goddesses. 'It is all very good and nice to possess "such daughters', he said, 'but how to find suitable husbands for "them? I shall have to give them to Heaven'. So he erected a "high terrace in an uninhabited region in the north of his realm, "and placed the two maids upon it, saying: 'I entreat Heaven "to accept them'. Three years passed away, and the mother wanted "to fetch them home, but the shen-yü forbade it, for, said he, the "time to take them away had not yet come. Another year elapsed, "after which an old wolf guarded the terrace night and day, "howling and groaning, and dug a lair below it. When the year "was ended and it was still there, the youngest girl spoke: 'Father "placed us here as a gift to Heaven, and now this wolf has come; "methinks he is a divine being sent from Heaven'. She prepared "to leave the terrace and go to him, without listening to her sister, "who, greatly frightened, said: 'He is a beast, bring no shame upon "our parents'. She descended, and became the wolf's wife; and she "had a son, from whom a numerous progeny issued, that founded "a realm. The people there for this reason speak in a protracted tone "of voice, and sing long chants resembling a wolf's howl"[2].

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[1] 或云其先國於西海之上、爲鄰國所滅、男女無少長盡殺之、至一兒不忍殺。刖足斷臂、棄於大澤中。有一牝狼每銜肉至其所、此兒因食之、得以不死。其後遂與狼交、狼有孕焉。彼鄰國者復令人殺此兒、而狼在其側、使者將殺之、其狼若爲神所憑猱然至於海東。止於山上、其山在高昌西北。下有洞穴、狼入其中、遇得平壤茂草地方二百餘里。其後狼生十男、其一姓阿史那氏、最賢、遂爲君長。故牙門建狼頭纛示不忘本也. Ch. 84, l. 1. See also a version of this legend in the Books of the Chen dynasty, ch. 50, l. 1. It was discussed by Howorth in his History of the Mongols, I, page 33, and earlier by Klaproth in the "Journal Asiatique" for 1823, II, p. 209.

[2] 俗云、匈奴單于生二女、姿容甚美、國人皆以爲神。單于曰、我有此女、安可配人、將以與

It has not escaped the reader's attention that, in particular, the two biggest representatives of the canine race are handed down by tradition as progenitors of tribes and nations. No doubt there is some connexion between this fact and the phenomenon that, in all history, a large number of frontier tribes are denoted in China by characters which signify varieties of dogs or allied quadrupeds, as shown by the element 犭 dog, which those characters contain as a radical. So, a large branch of the offspring of Dish-gourd, the canine ancestor of the Man, is described in the Books of the Wei Dynasty [1] and in those of the House of Cheu [2] under the name of 獠 Liao, while the Books of the Sui Dynasty [3] state that they were also called 獽 Jang. Furthermore we find some of their tribes denoted as 犵獠 Khih-liao and 犵狫 Khih-lao, which terms are still current as appellations of their scanty remains, now living in Kweicheu province and other parts, known to Europeans as Lao or Miao-tszĕ. During many centuries also, four Man tribes inhabiting the Khi-tung [4] region in the present Chen-yuen [5], a department of Kweicheu, were distinguished in the books by the names of 犵 Khih, 獠 Liao, 狑 Ling, and 猫 Miao. We read, moreover, of a 獞 Chwang tribe in Kwei-lin [6] (in Kwangsi), and of tribes styled 獶 Nao, 猺 Yao, 猓玀 Kwo-lo, and 狸 Li, all names of quadrupeds. The Kwo-lo or Lo-lo 玀玀 especially occur in Yünnan, while the Chwang, often named also Lang 狼 or Wolves, live in Kwangsi and Kwangtung both. Still we find in Yünnan such names as Chung people 狆人,

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天。乃於國北無人之地築高臺、置二女其上、曰請天自迎之。經三年其母欲迎之、單于曰、不可、未徹之間耳。復一年乃有一老狼、晝夜守臺嗥呼、因穿臺下爲空穴。經年不去、其小女曰、吾父處我於此、欲以與天而今狼來、或是神物天使之。然將下就之、其姊大驚曰、此是畜生、無乃辱父母、妹不從。下爲狼妻而産子、後遂滋繁成國。故其人好引聲長歌又似狼嗥. History of the North, ch. 98, l. 24, and the Books of the Wei Dynasty, ch. 103, l. 20.

1 Ch. 101, ll. 23 *sqq.* 2 Ch. 49, ll. 8 *sqq.* 3 Ch. 82, l. 1.

4 溪洞. 5 鎮遠府. 6 桂林府.

Lih-suh 猏貜, etc.[1]. It is significant also that the character 蠻 Man, the generic name of all those barbarians, occurring already in the *Shu king* in a book relating to the 23rd. century before our era[2], likewise signifies some animal, as is indicated by its radical 虫, now denoting ophidians, insects and some sauria, but, originally, animals in general.

Among the ancient Chinese terms denoting the peoples beyond the northern frontiers, the commonest is 狄 Tih, which has likewise the sign dog for its principal element. It is probably older than the oldest Chinese written documents we possess, as a book of the *Shu king*, referring to the accession of the founder of the Shang dynasty in the 18th. century before the birth of Christ, makes this monarch speak of the 北狄 or northern Tih[3]. The great vocabulary of the first century of our era roundly declared them "to be the offspring of dogs"[4]. In the *Cheu li* mention is made of six classes or tribes of Tih (六狄), which, together with other frontier peoples and the natives of the empire proper, were to be attended to by certain Chiefs of a topographical and statistical Department[5]; and one of those groups, called the nine Moh 九貉, were, according to the same work (ch. 37, l. 13), employed at Court, under the name of Moh-menials[6], for the taming and guarding of animals and for other minor offices, on a like footing with other barbarians. Now that name too points to an affiliation with animals, for, as the radical 豸 indicates, it denotes some beast; Chinese authors generally describe it as akin to the fox, and fit for domestication. Avowedly the Moh were the same people who are mentioned in a piece of the *Shu king*, relating to the founder of the Cheu dynasty, under the animal name of 貊[7].

But this is not all. The Chinese Father of History teaches us, that in his time, the barbarians living west of China were known

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1 Comp. Devéria, "La Frontière Sino-Annamite", second part.

2 Section 舜典, the Canon of Shun.

3 Sect. 仲虺之誥, the Announcement of Chung-hwui.

4 北狄本犬種. Shwoh wen, ch. 10, l. 33.

5 職方氏. Ch. 33, l. 1.

6 貉隸.

7 Section 武成: the Completion of the War.

as 犬戎 or "Dog Jung" [1], and we saw on page 263 that the Books of the Later Han Dynasty also denote them by this term. But the name is much older, for it occurs already in the *Shan-hai king*. This work in fact roundly gives us their bestial pedigree: "The emperor Hwang begot Miao-lung; Miao-lung begot "Yung-wu, who begot Lung-ming, who produced white dogs "that, being of two sexes, became the tribe of the Dog Jung, "who accordingly are carnivorous" [2]. When we peruse the *Shi king*, we come across some ancient poems [3] in praise of the victories of Chinese arms over certain foreign tribes indicated by the term 玁狁 or 獫狁, Hien-yun, which Sze-ma Ts'ien [4], and other authors after him, identify, either correctly or incorrectly, with the Hiung-nü; now those characters, too, betray their meaning of canine species by their radical. Again, the same radical appears in the name 獯鬻, Hiun-yuh, some Hiung-nü tribe mentioned by Mencius [5] as attended to by T'ai Wang [6], the progenitor of the house of Cheu in the seventeenth century before our era. In this term the first character is sometimes replaced by 葷, which means a wild dog with human face, mentioned in the *Shan-hai king*. Sze-ma Ts'ien writes the name as 葷粥 [7] and 薰育 [8], which likewise are evidently defective transcriptions of some exotic name, the correct pronunciation of which has not yet been discovered. Finally, the same people, or one or more tribes among them, are sometimes styled 猲 or 猲, Hieh, which the dictionaries generally say means an animal of the canine race.

This series of instances, which a thorough inquiry of Chinese sources could easily enlarge, is rather too long to allow us to see in those animal names merely invectives, invented by haughty Chinese to debase despised barbarian neighbours, and afterwards giving birth to tales about real bestial descent. And admitting

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1 Historical Records, ch. 4, l. 5.

2 黃帝生苗龍、苗龍生融吾、融吾生弄明、弄明生白犬、白犬有牝牡是爲犬戎、肉食. Sect. 大荒牝經.

3 In the section 小雅, I, odes 7 and 8; III, odes 3 and 4.

4 Historical Records, ch. 110, l. 1.

5 Sect. 梁惠王, II, 3. 6 太王.

7 Historical Records, ch. 1, l. 5, and ch. 110, l. 1.

8 *Op. cit.*, ch. 4, l. 3.

that all, or most of them, are transcriptions of foreign terms, which is highly probable, we do not solve thereby the riddle why the Chinese have so doggedly preferred to use here animal names. The supposition is perhaps not venturesome that those tribes themselves believed animals to have been their ancestors, and that the Chinese, not less enslaved than they to the belief in the perfect possibility of animals producing human beings, fully trusted their assertions, and gave expression to their credulity in this respect in their own annals by using the terms in question.

Some accessional details tend to confirm this view. The reader saw on page 265 that the Turks were not at all ashamed of their descent from a wolf, openly decorating, as they did, their standards with wolves' heads in commemoration of it. "They were", thus we read, "in the habit of placing a metal wolf's head on the "top of their standards, and their warriors of the guards were called "fu-li, which in the Hia language means wolves, the ancient "reminiscence of their descent from a wolf being not effaced from "their memory" [1]. In the Books of the Sui Dynasty we have a few notes on a western tribe, named Tang-hiang [2], in which we read: "The Tang-ch'ang and White Wolves are found among them, who all call *themselves* the progeny of mi apes" [3]. On the other hand, a bestial extraction is even at present not quite so repulsive a thing to the Chinese mind as we might be inclined to suppose. This fact was emphatically impressed on us by the following tale, which we found widely circulating among the Amoy Chinese. A graduate of high rank was celebrating a Buddhist mass for the redemption of his deceased father, when one of the officiating priests, a ghost-seer, informed him that every now and then something like a dog turned up to eat of the sacrificial food. The scared graduate told this his mother, who immediately made a clean breast, confessing that she had sexual intercourse with the house-dog before his birth. Displeased at this news, he overturned the sacrificial table and stopped the mass at once; but he fared badly for this unfilial act, for next day Heaven sent down a flash of lightning upon him, and thus killed him on the spot.

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[1] 旗纛之上施金狼頭、侍衛之士謂之附離、夏言亦狼也、蓋本狼生志不忘. Books of the Cheu Dynasty, ch. 50, l. 4.

[2] 党項.

[3] 其中有宕昌白狼、皆自稱獮猴種. Ch. 83, l. 5.

A strong belief in animal progenitors of men, families and tribes may, in any country where the worship of ancestors is prevalent, readily lead to methodic veneration of such beasts. Considering, however, that, as far as we can learn from books, a descent from beasts has never been positively claimed by the inhabitants of what we may call ancient China proper, the existence of ancestor worship in such a garb must be dismissed at once for the provinces north of the Yangtszĕ. If we peruse the long list of Chinese tribal names, we find half a dozen names of animals, viz. Bear 熊, Dragon 龍, Horse 馬, Cow 牛, Crow 烏, and Swallow 燕; but, to judge from the researches of native authors, they do not point to any alleged descent of the tribes they denote, from an animal ancestor. The two first, which are very rare, are stated to have been at the outset individual names, adopted as family-names by the descendants of the bearers. The Horse tribe, which has a much larger number of members, derives this name from the first letter of the cognomen of one of its ancestors. Cow, likewise a rare surname, marks descent from an individual whose cognomen it was; while Crow or Raven denoted the office or office-badge of some ancestor. And Swallow is only apparently an animal name, representing in reality the name of an ancient country in the present Pehchihli. Words denoting wolves or dogs were never in China actual tribal names.

And South-China, the old country of the Man, whose mythic pedigree has its root in the dog Dish-gourd? Never have our studies of books brought us across anything intimating that the dog is there more especially an object of worship than other animals, or a respected *do-daim* whose flesh does not appear in the popular bill-of-fare. Zoolatry, as we shall show afterwards, is a prominent feature of China's Religion. But the statement must here be made that, as yet, we have found no trace in China of animals being worshipped in their capacity of tribal progenitors, so that we entertain serious doubts whether any so-called Totemism exists in East-Asia as a religious phenomenon.

CHAPTER XII.

ON PLANT-SPIRITS.

The old conception, prevailing in China, that there exists a universal Yang pervading the whole world, effusions from which create and animate beings, causing them to live until their borrowed soul-substance returns to its origin, naturally infers the existence of a belief that plants, which live, grow, and die like men and animals, are likewise thus animated. Such a belief is traceable to old writings; but we may safely admit it to be much older than that philosophical theory about the general cosmic origin of souls, it being, as is well known, far from alien to tribes living elsewhere on the globe in a very low stage of mental culture. The way in which, in times so old, attribution of souls to plants arose in China, we cannot attempt to trace, data that might shed light on it being altogether wanting. And mere theorizing on this point is not our task. The matter may remain perhaps for ever an open problem, insolvable, as are so many phenomena in the life and thought of primeval man.

The ancient sages having once for all established in China the doctrine that creation of life consists in an effusion of souls by the Cosmos into beings, orthodox philosophy cannot possibly be expected to have ever dropped the belief in the animation of plants. The Sung school sanctioned it unconditionally, and Chu Hi, its chief figure, taught: "Living plants and trees have a shen of themselves, or else they would, of course, not be able to live" [1].

The belief in plant-spirits is characterized in China by a peculiar feature, which calls for our attention from the outset. While the soul of a human being is generally conceived as possessing the shape and characteristics of a human being, and occasionally those of an animal; while, as likewise we have seen, the conceived shape of

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[1] 草木之生自有箇神、他自不能生. *Sing-li ta ts'üen shu*, ch. 28, l. 14.

the spirit of an animal is the shape of this animal or of some being with human attributes and speech — plant spirits are never conceived as plant-shaped, nor to have plant-characters. They are, whenever forms are given them, mostly represented as a man, a woman, or a child, and often also as an animal, dwelling in or near the plant, and emerging from it at times to do harm, or to dispense blessings. Such plant-souls are thus resident spirits, and the fact that they are given equally human or animal forms, may have to be put to the account of the dominating ideas on easy transformation of men into animals, and conversely.

So, in plant-animism, sentiments and ideas respecting human souls are preponderant. Whether we must conclude from this that conceptions on the animation of plants have never developed in Chinese thought and worship before ideas about human ghosts, and veneration for the same, had become predominant in mind and custom, we cannot say; but the matter seems probable.

Alongside with plant-spirits in anthropomorphous and zoomorphous shapes, plant-spirits have played a very important part in Chinese life of all times without any definite forms being given them. In this character they are conceived as certain doses of shen substance, infused into the plants by the Cosmos from its own yang soul, and conferring on them a certain amount of ling or soul-power, the quality and quantity of which manifests itself by the invigoration, or increase of soul-substance, the plants impart to those who eat them, thus curing them from debility or disease, and prolonging their lives. The two categories of animated plants have equally exercised a mighty influence on Chinese superstition and Religion, and they do so still. We will treat them under separate headings.

1. On Anthropomorphous and Zoomorphous Plant-spirits.

The identification of plant-spirits with men or animals appears from the oldest legend we have of those spirits, which reads as follows:

"When Chang Liao of Kiang-hia, Governor of Kwei-yang, known "also by the name of Shuh-kao, had retired into Yen (in Honan), "he had there some fields purchased by his family, in which a tree "stood of so large dimensions that it took ten persons to encompass "it with their arms. It covered several acres, in which no sown corn "would grow. So he sent off some men to fell it; but blood "gushed out of it and sent the men back to him in great conster-

"nation, to bring him the news. In great anger, the grandee exclaimed: "'It was nothing else than the sap of that old tree; what blood "could such blood be!' and taking up the matter himself seriously, "he hewed the tree a second time, likewise with the effect that "a broad stream of blood flowed out. Then he told the men to "cut off the branches first. A hole was thus laid bare, from "which an old greyhead, four by five ch'ih high, emerged "on a sudden, marching up to Shuh-kao; but he beat him off, "and then killed four more of such men, during which feat all "the bystanders lay flat on the ground from fright. He himself, "however, looked quite unhurt. He then inspected those beings more "closely, and found that they were neither quite men, nor quite "animals. They now felled the tree, and in that same year he "became a Minister, and a Censor of the Emperor's conduct, as also "Governor of Yen-cheu with an income of two thousand stoneweight "of corn. His misfortune remained dormant?" [1]

An old fox-yarn, in which a tree a millennium old appears as the abode of a shen represented as a man, and losing blood likewise under axe-blows inflicted on it, we rendered on pp. 189 *sqq.* Sanguiferous trees uttering cries of woe, pain or indignation when hacked at or burned down, we come across in books very often, even in the Standard Histories. Alongside with such tales, we find cases recorded of trees and plants speaking, chanting and humming with a human voice; and all such reports bear in themselves unmistakably the marks of having been written down under the impression that it was their souls that performed such extraordinarily wonderful feats.

Of the tales of anthropomorphous plant-spirits, which we have

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[1] 桂陽太守江夏張遼叔高去鄢、令家居買田、田中有大樹、十餘圍。扶疎蓋數畝地、播不生穀。遣客伐之、木中血出、客驚怖歸具事白。叔高大怒、老樹汁出、此何等血、因自嚴行復斫之、血大流灑。叔高使先斫其枝。上有一空處、白頭公可長四五尺忽出、往赴叔高、叔高乃逆格之、凡殺四頭、左右皆怖伏地。而叔高恬如也。徐熟視非人非獸也。遂伐其木、其年應司空辟侍御史、兗州刺史、以二千石之尊。其禍安居.
Fung-suh t'ung i, ch. 9.

read, some afford an interesting insight into the animistic lore of East-Asian man. "Under the T'ang dynasty there lived in King-nan "a rich man, named Ts'ui Tao. His family was very poor, but he, "having planted more than a thousand orange trees, drew large "profits from them every year. One day, one of those trees changed "into a man over one chang in height, who asked to see Ts'ui Tao. "'In my prior existence', thus he spoke, 'I owed you a million "coins, and I died before having paid them off, on which, more- "over, my family swindled you of that money. Then you informed "Heaven of the matter, who ordered my whole family to become "orange trees and serve you in that capacity, to thus clear off the "debt. But now the Supreme Emperor has willed that commi- "seration shall be shown to my clan; our original shapes shall be "restituted, and I am to make a second stay in this world, with full "consciousness of the past. Most happy shall I be if you will erect "for me a humble cottage, that I may finish this existence by "ploughing and digging. And then, Sir, fell your orange trees to "the last, and remain correct in conduct, observing the 'constant "matters'; then you will save yourself from evil. If you do not "behave so, Heaven will send mishap down upon you. As to that "million of coins, they have been paid back now to the last!' Tao "was greatly affrighted. Following the advice of that being, he "built a hut for him, and felled the trees altogether. Five years "afterwards he died, and his family then became quite poor "again. It was then unknown where that man lived"[1].

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[1] 唐荆南有富人崔導者。家貧乏、偶種橘約千餘株、每歲大獲其利。忽一日有一株化爲一丈夫、長丈餘、求見崔導。丈夫曰、我前生欠君錢百萬、未償而死、我家人復自欺、君乃上訴於天、是以令我合門爲橘計傭於君、僅能滿耳、今上帝有命哀我族屬、復我本形、兼我自省前事止如再宿耳、君幸爲我置一敝廬、我自耕鑿以卒此生、君仍盡剪去橘樹、端居守常、則能自保、不能者天降禍矣、何者昔百萬之資、今已足矣。導大驚。乃皆如其言卽爲葺廬、且盡伐去橘樹。後五年而導卒、家復貧。其人亦不知所在.
Siao siang luh; KK, ch. 415.

"When Hiung Ch'ung of the Ming dynasty was a student, he "studied at the southern altar of the district-city. One evening he "saw there a maid of the greatest beauty, standing in a tree. "His companions, eighteen in number, were all bewildered and "stood horror-stricken, but our hero did not share their com- "motion. In a few moments the maid disappeared, on which Hiung "Ch'ung took a knife, and carved in big letters these sentences in "the bark of the tree: 'This evil apparition may wind and thunder "split; its material shape may axe and saw reduce to pieces'. Next "midnight a thunderbolt shattered the tree" [1].

We abstain from quoting further instances, having to insert half a dozen more in chapter VI of Part II, which will treat of the devils among plant-spirits. Ideas on the animation of plants by souls of men may easily pass into a belief that a plant may receive an indwelling human spirit with especial facility when in close contact with a corpse, corpses being deemed to be animated, as they were before death. It is, we think, ascribable to nothing else than to such belief that tales have come into existence such as the following: "There lived in the Yuen hwo period one "Ch'en P'oh in the northern street of the Ch'ung-hien village. "Outside the main entrance of his dwelling a big Sophora stood, "against which P'oh was wont to lean a little every evening in "the twilight, to have a look-out. Once he saw there something "like a woman with a fox, a dog, an old raven or the like, that "flew into the tree. He felled this to examine it, dividing the tree "into three parts. In the first he found a hole; in the next he "discovered 120 single chestnuts, and in the third a dead infant, "not bigger than a ch'ih, in swaddling clothes" [2].

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[1] 明熊翀爲諸生時讀書於州之南壇。一夕見有女子絕色、立樹上。從遊者十人皆錯愕、公不與意。須臾女子滅、公乃以刀刮樹皮而大書曰、作怪風雷折、成形斧鋸分。明日夜半雷劈其樹. *Kwang-cheu chi* 光州志, "Memoirs concerning Kwang-cheu", a department of Honan province. TS, sect. 草木, ch. 8.

[2] 有陳朴元和中住崇賢里北街。大門外有大槐樹、朴常黃昏徙倚窺外。見若婦人及狐犬老烏之類飛入樹中。遂伐視之、樹三槎。一槎空

This topic takes us straightway to the trees which, as we saw elsewhere (B. I, pp. 462 *sqq.*), it has been customary in China from times immemorial to plant on graves. We have stated the substratum of this custom to be a desire to strengthen the soul of the buried person, thus to save his body from corruption, for which reason trees such as pines and cypresses, deemed to be bearers of great vitality for being possessed of more shen than other trees, were used preferably for such purposes. From the belief that trees may have such effects, lively ideas, as we have also demonstrated, have sprung up that they are connected most closely with the soul abiding in the grave on which they stand, nay, that they are identical therewith.

Two myths of respectable age, telling of trees shading the tombs respectively of a wife and her husband, which intertwined as if in a living embrace, have served us already to point out that identification (Book I, pp. 470 *sqq.*). They have reminded the reader of our own old yarns of plants shooting up from graves in which lay the soul of the buried dead; of trees and flowers growing out of the tombs of hapless lovers, and uniting into knots of tender affection. They have shown us that the affectionate souls may roost in the branches as ducks or swans. This trait appears in a clearer light after what this chapter has stated, and will still state, of the tendency of Chinese myth-makers to give plant-spirits animal forms.

Here is another story of a grave-tree harbouring the soul of the person buried under its shade. "In days of old, in the time of the "Contending States (in the latter ages of the Cheu dynasty), when "the kingdom of Wei suffered much from the evil inflicted on it "by the state of Ts'in, a certain man followed its people in the "war operations on the Ts'in frontiers. In his long absence, his wife, "whose thoughts did not turn away from him, died. When she "was buried, a tree shot up from her grave, the branches and foliage "of which all grew out in the direction of the land where her "husband was. They called it the tree of remembrance" [1].

中、一槎有獨頭栗一百二十、三槎中褷一死兒、長尺餘. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 15.

[1] 昔戰國時魏國苦秦之難、有以民從征戍秦。久不返、妻思而卒。既葬塚上生木、枝葉皆向夫所在而傾。因謂之相思木 *Shuh i ki*, I.

The identification of sepulchral trees with the soul of the occupant of the grave, has become a source of superstition in many other respects. The good qualities the dead man displayed during his life, in so far as it was his soul that engendered them, pass over into the tree, and from this into the persons who look at it. "Li Ching, known also by the name of Hung-khing, applied him-"self to the acquisition of the Tao, visited the Royal Father of the "East (a king of immortals), and received instruction from him during "seventeen years. Then he died, and his family buried him in "Wu-ling. A flowering tree there shot up from his tomb to a "height of seven chʿih. All men who happened to see its flowers "became clever and intelligent, and acquired capacity for literary "work in the highest degree" [1]. It is also the identification of souls of the dead with plants, that explains the rise of traditions of mysterious flowers having appeared on graves under certain circumstances. "In Chʿu, a harem-lady herb grows, resembling the "gold teng, full of genial breath, and with flowers red and blue. "The people relate that in the time of king Ling of Chʿu (B.C. "539—527) several dozen harem-dames frequently showed a spirit "of ill-will and a tendency to neglect their duties. Those who were "imprisoned for that in the Palace and expired in jail, were buried, "and their graves entirely decked themselves with those flowers" [2].

We come now to the identification of plant-spirits with animals, a prominent feature of Chinese plant-animism of all times, as well as their identification with men is. Already Liu Ngan declared "that trees produce pih-fang" [3], which, according to Kao Yiu, the commentator of his writings, "are the tsing of trees" [4], and of which the *Shan-hai king*, the oldest work that mentions them, says: "In the Chang-ngo mounts live birds, crane-shaped and one-"legged. They have red stripes, blue bodies, and white bills. Their

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[1] 李正字弘卿學道、見東王父、教之十七年。後身死、家人埋之於武陵。而塚上生花樹、高七尺。有人遇見此花皆聰明文章盛. KK, ch. 389.

[2] 楚中有宮人草、狀如金蓌而甚氛氳、花色紅翠。俗說楚靈王時宮人數十皆多怨曠。有囚死於宮中者葬之後墓上悉生此花. *Shuh i ki*, II.

[3] 木生畢方. *Hung lieh kiai*, ch. 13. [4] 木之精也。

"name is pih-fang. By their cries they call each other. When they "appear, disastrous conflagrations burst out in the town" [1].

At an early date, tree-spirits were identified also with bulls. In the Historical Records we have a passage which, to judge from what commentators add to it, refers to such an identification. It reads thus, that "in the twenty-seventh year of his reign the Ruler "Wen of Tsʿin (764—714 B.C.) felled a large Rottlera tree on "the Southern Mounts, the big bull of the Fung" [2]. To this, Pʿei Yin [3] adds "that Sü Kwang [4] wrote: Nowadays there is in Wu-tu, "on the old highroad, a sacrificial place, dedicated to the furious "bull, with a large bull painted on it. Over it grows a tree, out "of which one day a bull emerged, which appeared afterwards in "the waters of the Fung" [5]. And Chang Sheu-tsieh [6] subjoins the following tradition: "According to the *Kwah tʿi chi*, the big Rottlera "tree stood ten miles south of the district-city of Chʿen-tsʿang in "Khi cheu (in the present Shensi prov.), on the Tsʿang mount. "The *Luh i chwʿen* says: In the time of Wen of the House of "Tsʿin, there stood in the mountains south of Yung a big Rottlera. "Whenever the Ruler attacked it with axes, a violent gale arose, "accompanied by showers of rain, the tree then closing again, so "that it could not be felled. Then there was a man who, being "ill, went to that mountain in the dark, and heard a spectre say "to the tree-spirit: 'If Tsʿin sends a man with disheveled hair to

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1 章莪之山有鳥焉、其狀如鶴、一足。赤文、青質、而白喙。名曰畢方。其鳴自叫也。見則其邑有譌火. Ch. 2, 西山經.

2 秦文公二十七年伐南山大梓、豐大特. Ch. 5, l. 6.

3 裴駰, a commentator of the Historical Records, who flourished in the fifth century. His writings, entitled *Shi ki tsih kiai* 史記集解 or Collective Explications of the Historical Records, comprise eighty chapters.

4 A commentator of the same work, who died in 425. His writings, entitled *Shi ki yin i* 史記音義 or Sounds and Meanings of the Historical Records, are known only from the numerous quotations which Pʿei Yin made from them in his own commentary.

5 徐廣曰、今武都故道有怒特祠圖大牛。上生樹、本有牛從木中出、後見於豐水之中。

6 張守節. A commentator of the Historical Records, whose writings, published in 737, are entitled *Shi ki ching i* 史記正義: the Correct Meaning of the Historical Records.

"wind a red silk thread round the tree, and then sets the axes at "work upon you, will you remain then unmolested?' On which the "tree-spirit had nothing to say. Next morning the sick man reported "this to the Ruler, who, trusting to his relation, felled the tree, "and lo, a blue bull rushed out of it, and fled into the waters "of the Fung, from which it emerged afterwards. Horsemen "were sent to attack it, but they could not conquer it. On this "occasion, one of them tumbled from his horse and, on remounting, "had his hair in disorder. This sight intimidated the beast, and it "plunged into the water, to come out no more. Hence they put up "a long-haired head on the spot, and under the Han, the Wei and "the Tsin dynasty this custom was maintained. The sacrificial place "of the enraged bull, erected in the Wu-tu region, is dedicated to the "bull-spirit of that big Rottlera. Here we have also the explanation "of the present custom to have walls daubed with blue bulls" [1].

In the *Sheu shen ki* we find that tradition moulded a little differently, but pointing nevertheless to the prevalence of quite similar conceptions. "In the time of king Wu (12th. cent. B.C.) "there grew south of the walls of Yung-cheu a big tree, inhabited "by a shen. It was almost ten chang high, and it cast its shades "a mile around. The population of the locality all worshipped "it, driving goats to the spot for the purpose in the four seasons "and at the eight divisions of the year, and taking wine thither; "and such sacrifices they brought uninterruptedly. One day, king "Wu left the city. Seeing the crowd worship the tree with sacrifices, "he spoke: 'Who is that tree-spirit? it is sure to inflict evil on "my people'; and he had it surrounded by his troops, in order to

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[1] 括地志云、大梓樹在岐州陳倉縣南十里倉山上。錄異傳云、秦文公時雍南山有大梓樹。文公伐之輒有大風雨、樹生合、不斷。時有一人病、夜往山中、聞有鬼語樹神曰、秦若使人被髮以朱絲繞樹伐汝、汝得不困耶。樹神無言。明日病人語聞、公如其言伐樹斷、中有一青牛出、走入豐水中、其後牛出豐水中。使騎擊之、不勝。有騎墮地、復上髮解。牛畏之、入不出。故置髦頭、漢魏晉因之。武都郡立怒特祠是大梓牛神也。按今俗畫青牛障是。

"fell it. Flying gravel and running rocks, rolling thunder and "flashing lightning were now produced by the power of the spirit, "so that the soldiery and the crowd around broke asunder as pots "split into sherds, and fire into sparks. No orders could bring "them back to the tree. One of the men, wounded in his leg, fell "down at a hundred paces from the tree, and could not get away. "Towards nightfall he saw a rider in red dress, who spoke to "the tree-spirit: 'Had king Wu's attack on you this morning any "bad results?' 'I am the lord of thunder', was the answer, 'and "my flying sand and soaring stones inflicted so much harm on "his soldiery, that the sight alone sufficed to scatter them as "sparks, and kept them at a respectable distance; so intimidating "is my power'. On which he in red retorted angrily: 'I will tell "his warriors to paint their faces red, to let their hair flow in "disorder, to put red clothes on, and to wind a red thread round "the tree; if then they strew a hundred rings of ashes on the "road and attack the tree with their axes, will they then not "manage to inflict damage on you?' The tree-spirit had no answer "to give, and the man in red giving the reins to his horse, was off.

"Against daybreak the soldier communicated his adventure to "his village elders, who reported the matter to the king. Taking "advantage of the hints thus received, the king took the said measures "and attacked the tree anew with axes, and no phenomenon whatever "occurred. But when the trunk was about to come down, the blood "that gushed out of it changed into a bull, which escaped into the "country and plunged into the Fung. Thus we see that the tsing "of a tree changes into a blue bull (once) in a hundred years. "Posterity being thus informed, availed themselves of ashes and red "colours (against this evil)" [1].

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[1] 昔武王時雍州城南有一大神樹。約高十丈、周廻一里蔭其地。土人民悉奉、四時八節牽羊負酒、祭祀不絶。武王出城。見衆奉獻、王言、此樹神何、須損我百姓、乃以兵圍、正欲誅伐之。乃有神飛沙走石雷電霹靂、武兵起衆瓦解星分。無令得近。時有一人被傷損脚、去樹一百步臥地、不能自去。迨夜有一人、着朱衣乘馬、與樹神曰、朝來武王伐子不有損乎。樹神曰、我雷公、飛沙走石傷武王兵士、兵士見之星分不敢

Literature gives us also traditions representing tree-spirits as dog-shaped. "When the Wu dynasty had got possession of the throne "(circâ A.D. 222), one Luh King-shuh, Governor of Kien-ngan, "sent off some men to fell a big camphor tree. After some axe-strokes, "blood gushed forth from the gaps, and when it came down, a being "with a human countenance and a dog's body rushed out of the "tree. King-shuh declared this monster to be a so-called pʿeng-"heu; he cooked it and ate it, and it had the taste of dog-"meat. The *Poh tseh tʿu* says, that tree-tsing bear the name of "pʿeng-heu, and that they look like a tailless black dog, edible "if cooked" [1].

And a stag-shaped tree-spirit we have in the following tale: "Under the reign of the Wu dynasty (222—280), one Nieh Yiu "lived, known also by his cognomen Wen-ti; he was a man from "Sin-kin in Yü-chang. In his youth he was poor, and took much "pleasure in hunting. Once he perceived in the shades of the "evening a white stag. He sent an arrow into it, and looked up "its footprints at dawn, but the blood had disappeared, and he "could not discover the animal. Hungry and tired, he laid himself "down under a Rottlera tree, and looking up, saw an arrow sticking "in one of the branches. He climbed the tree to look at it, and "found that it was the arrow he had shot off the day before. "Astonished at this discovery, he returned home, procured some

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近我、我有威力如此。赤衣人怒曰、我教武王兵人用生朱塗面、披髮着朱衣、赤繩縛之、道灰百匝、以斧伐之、豈不損乎。樹神默然不對、赤衣人忽然縱轡而去。

至明軍人向鄉中父老語之、以狀聞王。王遂依其言、用物以斧伐之、並無變動。伐樹將倒、樹中流血變作一牸牛、向址中走入豐水中。故樹精百年化作青牛。後人學之用灰及赤. The edition in eight chapters, ch. 3. See also the other edition, ch. 18.

[1] 吳先主時陸敬叔爲建安太守、使人伐大樟樹。下數斧、忽有血出、樹斷有物人面狗身從樹中出。敬叔曰、此名彭侯、乃烹食之、其味如狗。白澤圖曰、木之精名彭侯、狀如黑狗無尾、可烹食之. *Shen shen ki*, ch. 18.

"provisions, and with his brothers, armed with axes, felled the tree. "It lost some blood; they cut a couple of planks out of it, which "they trailed into a pond. There they always sank, coming to "the surface only from time to time; in which cases regularly "something happy befell the family" [1].

Much oftener, however, than with any other animals, plant-spirits are identified with snakes. The Standard Histories of the Tsin dynasty relate, that "Mu-yung Hi (Book I, pag. 653) once strolled "southward of the city and stopped under a big willow, where it "appeared to him that a man called out: 'Stand back, great "Prince!' He shuddered, and having had the tree felled, a snake over "a chang in length emerged from it" [2]. — "The capital of the "Lu-shan district in Jü-cheu bore the name of Si-kwang-cheu under "the Wei dynasty. There is now to the south-east of that city "a sacrificial place, dedicated to the Miraculous Spirit, with a "courtyard in front, several hundred pu in length and in breadth. "Old people state, it was in former days a vast bowling-ground. "The main entrance is flanked on either side by a Sophora "tree, so thick that twenty men are required to encircle it; its "branches cover a vast area of ground. In the first year of the "Chung hwo period (A.D. 881), Yiu Shao allowed a General to "have trees felled for palisades in the districts under his rule. "They were then going to fell the two Sophoras, but that "evening a huge serpent wound itself through their tops, with "a voice like thunder, and eyes like comets. The commander Li "Fan, a warrior who superintended the work, heard of it, and "took the reptile for a miraculous apparition. He led his followers

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[1] 吳聶友字文悌豫章新淦人。少時貧賤、常好射獵。夜照見一白鹿。射中之、明尋蹤、血旣盡、不知所在。且已飢困、便臥一梓樹下、仰見射箭著樹枝。上視之、乃是昨所射箭。怪其如此於是還家、賚糧率子弟持斧以伐之。樹微有血、遂裁截爲板二枚、牽著陂塘中。板常沉沒、然時復浮出、出家輒有吉慶. *Sheu shen heu ki*, ch. 8.

[2] 慕容熙游于城南、止大柳樹下、若有人呼曰、大王且止。熙惡之、伐其樹、乃有蛇長丈餘從樹中而出. Ch. 124, l. 14.

"to the spot, and attacked the trees with his own hands. Where the "axeblows fell, blood issued from the trees and spattered about "as rain, while a rancid smell of flesh thinned the files of his men, "and affected himself so much that he gave up his task. To this "day those trees stand on that spot" [1].

Of tales illustrating the connection of tree-souls with snakes, Chinese literature affords a great number; but we need not give here any more, as we shall have to insert some in chapter the sixth of the next Part of this Book, devoted to plant-devils. It hardly admits, we think, of any doubt, it is the identification of plant-souls with snakes that has led also to the belief in the capacity of plants to become snakes. "In the T'ai yuen period (376—397)", thus we read, "a man in Jü-nan entered the hills to cut bamboo, "and saw a stem the inner part of which had entirely assumed "the shape of a snake, while the outer still had its twigs and "leaves. And in the Wu region, a man of Siang-li, who cut "bamboo stems which others had left standing, found one evening "that one of them had a pheasant's head, the neck of which "formed a whole with its body, so that the transformation was not "yet accomplished. This too was an instance of bamboo becoming "a snake [2]. — And in the seventh year of the Khai hwang "period of the Sui dynasty (586), there stood in Siang-cheu a mul- "berry tree which changed into a snake, the tail of which, coiled "round the tree, was two chang in length [3]. — The Governor

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[1] 汝州魯山縣所治卽元魏時西廣州也。今于城東南有妖神祠、其前庭廣袤數百步。古老云當時大毬場也。正門左右雙槐、各二十圍、枝幹扶疎。至中和初歲游邵許將令屬縣伐木爲柵。將伐雙槐、其夕有巨蟒蟠于上、聲若震霆、目若飛星。鎭將李璠主其事、璠武人也、聞之、以爲妖。且率徒、親斬之。下斧而流血雨迸、腥氣薄人、亦心動而止。雙槐至今尙存. K K, ch. 459.

[2] 太元中汝南人入山見一竹、中蛇形已成、上枝葉如故。吳都相慮人嘗伐餘遺竹、一宿見竿爲雉頭、頸盡就身、猶未變化。亦竹爲蛇之化. *I yuen.* K K, ch. 456.

[3] 隋開皇七年相州有桑變爲蛇、其尾繞樹長

"Hi Kien, when in command of Tan-yang, was out hunting in "the second month of the year. The ferns were then just in "growth. One of his wariors broke off a sprout, and ate it, "and immediately he felt a sinking sensation at his heart, and "wanted to be sick. So he went home, where his heart and "stomach ached for more than half a year. Then on a sudden he "became very sick, and vomited a red snake, over one ch'ih in "length, still moving and wringling. They hung it up before the "eaves, where it dried by degrees; and next day they saw it was a "fern sprout, just like that the man had eaten. His illness was "then over" [1].

If the idea that plant-spirits may have animal forms has engendered the belief that plants may change bodily into animals, and these animals may re-assume plant-forms, there is no reason why man, whose forms are also attributed very generally to plant-souls, should not likewise be transformable into plants. It was an old yarn, committed to writing by Yü Pao, that "the daughter of an emperor of the Sheh-to mount" — a mystic personage in a still more mystic locality — "changed on her death into a wondrous plant with luxu- "riant foliage, yellow flowers, and fruit like those of dodder. "Consequently, those who ate that marvellous plant were always "greater beauties than others" [2]. Transformations of this sort we find, however, recorded too seldom to admit of their ever having played an important part in China's lore and superstition.

Among the products of the identification of snakes with plants we must, no doubt, place also the conception, likewise given expression to in tales, of fruits being found to contain a snake when cut up. We have, in conclusion, to mention the belief that any tree-

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二丈. *Chang-teh fu chi* 彰德府志, Memoirs concerning the Chang-teh Department, in Honan province; quoted in the TS, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 182.

[1] 太尉郗鑒鎮丹陽也、曾出獵時二月中。蕨始生。有一甲士折食一莖、卽覺心中潭潭、欲吐。因歸家、乃成心腹疼痛經半年許。忽大吐、吐一赤蛇、長尺餘、尙動搖。乃挂於簷前、蛇漸焦、經宿視之、乃是一莖蕨耳、猶昔之所食也。病遂差. KK, ch. 416; professedly from the *Shen shen heu ki*.

[2] 舌埵山帝之女死化爲怪草、其葉鬱茂、其華黃色、其實如菟絲。故服怪草者恒媚於人焉. *Shen shen ki*, ch. 14.

spirit may assume both the human form and that of an animal. "Chu Kin, alias Chʿen-tsʿai, was an itinerant hero. Travelling in "Jü-nan, he lodged at an inn, the owner of which, one Teng Tsʿüen-"pin, had a daughter, very handsome in countenance and form. "She was bedeviled continuously by the tricks of a demon, and "no medical means could effect a cure. At that time, Kin came "from a feast at a friend's, back to the inn late in the evening, "and went to rest in the courtyard. Towards the second watch "(nine P.M.) he saw a man in a white dress, very fresh and clean, "enter the daughter's room. Kin walked around it, and heard them "speak and laugh in the room very merrily. Instead of falling "asleep, he watched for that person in a dark spot with his bow "and arrows.

"He lurked till the cock crew, when he saw the damsel let a "young man out. Kin sent an arrow into his body, and off the "gallant ran, but Kin gave him a second shot, and then lost sight "of him. At daybreak he reported the event to Tsʿüen-pin, who "joined him in seeking for the bloody traces. Some five miles off "the house, the trace was lost in a hole of a big dead tree. They "told their people to fell it, and they found a snow-white serpent "upward of a chang in length, lying dead, with two arrows in "its body. From that time the maid was as healthy as ever. "Tsʿüen-pin gave her Kin in marriage" [1].

A peculiar feature of Chinese plant-animism, which has already

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[1] 朱覲者陳蔡遊俠之士也。旅遊于汝南、栖逆旅時、主人鄧全賓家有女、姿容端麗。常有鬼魅之幻惑、凡所醫療莫能愈之。覲時過友人飲、夜艾方歸乃憩歇於庭。至二更見一人、著白衣甚鮮潔、而入全賓女房中。逡巡聞房內語笑甚歡。不成寢、執弓矢於黑處以伺其出。

候至雞鳴見女送一少年而出。覲射之、既中而走、覲復射之而失其跡。曉乃聞之全賓、遂與覲尋血跡。出宅可五里已來其跡入一大枯樹孔中。令人伐之、果見一蛇雪色長丈餘、身帶二箭而死。女子自此如故。全賓遂以女妻覲. TS, sect. 禽虫, ch. 183. The Thesaurus states it has this tale from the *Tsih i ki*; but I do not find it in the two copies I possess of this work.

appeared from some of the legends quoted in these pages, is that in particular old, big trees are considered as animated. The longevity of such giants could, in truth, hardly fail to convey the idea of their being endowed with much vital force; and vitality is animation. Koh Hung wrote: "Among the big trees that grow in "the mountains there are some that can speak; but it is not the "trees themselves that possess this faculty. Their tsing is named "'clouds yang' (that is, yang of the heavens, shen), and he "who calls out this name becomes happy .... The deepest roots "of cypresses a thousand years old have the shape of puppets in "a sitting posture, seven inches high. When incisions are made "therein, they lose blood, which, when smeared on one's foot-soles, "enables him to walk over water without sinking. And he on whose "nose it is smeared will, on stepping into the water, see this open "before him, so that by that expedient he can abide at the bottom "of the deep. Smear it on your body, and this will become invisible, "to return to the visible state when it is wiped off. Moreover, such "a puppet cures diseases. To this end, scrape off a little from it, "inside its belly, and swallow as much of this powder as can lie on "the point of a knife. And external swelling-pain of the abdomen is "cured immediately on such spots of the belly as are rubbed by the "hand with the same quantity of scrapings from the corresponding "part of the mannikin. Should your left leg be bad, you must "scrape a little from the left leg of the puppet, or spurt at it. "Again, some scrapings mixed into a torch with other ingredients "of great power, can light the soil all around in the dark, and "then, if there is gold in the soil, or jade, or any other precious "things, the light will turn blue and bend downward, so that you "have only to dig on the spot thus indicated to find them. "And if you pound a puppet, and swallow ten pounds of the "powder, you will live a thousand years. Branches of firs, when "three thousand years old, have in their bark accumulations of "resin possessing the form of a dragon, named nodular chi flying "at the sun (?), the biggest of which weigh ten pounds. If you "consume fully ten pounds of them in a powdered condition, you "will enjoy a lifetime of five hundred years .... According to the "*Yuh-tsʿeh ki*, firs of a thousand years contain a being resembling "a blue bull, or a goat, dog or man of the same colour; and in "such a case the tree is always a thousand years old" [1].

[1] 山中有大樹有能語者、非樹能語也。其精名

In the *Yuen chung ki*[1] it was annotated "that the tsing of "millennial trees are blue goats, and that those of trees ten times "as old, are blue cows. Those souls often quit the trees to move "among men. And the sap of centennial trees is like blood"[2]. "According to the *Shuh i ki*, "there existed in the South certain "Liquidambar spectres, being anthropomorphous things produced by "the old among Liquidambar trees which are known for Liquidambars "displaying ling or soul-power... And the tsing of trees a thousand "years old is a blue bullock"[3]. "In the Thatch-grass mount", thus runs a tale, "there lived a rustic, who perceived an envoy in strange "costume, leading a white goat. He asked this man where he lived,

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曰雲陽、呼之則吉. *Pao P'oh-tszĕ*, § 17, 登涉。。。。。。。。。。。千歲之柏木其下根如坐人、長七寸。刻之有血、以其血塗足下可以步行水上不沒。以塗人鼻以入水水爲之開、可以止住淵底也。以塗身則隱形、欲見則拭之。又可以治病。在腹內刮服一刀圭。其腫痛在外者隨其所在刮一刀圭、卽其腫痛所在以摩之皆手下卽愈。假令左足有疾、則刮射人之左足也。又刮以雜巨勝爲燭、夜遍照地、下有金玉寶藏、則光變青而下垂、以鍤掘之可得也。末之服盡十斤、則千歲也。又松樹枝三千歲者其皮中有聚脂、狀如龍形、名曰日飛節芝、大者重十斤。末服之盡十斤得五百歲也. § 11, 僊藥。。。。。。。。。。。。。。。。。。。。。。。。按玉策記云千歲松樹其中有物、或如青牛、或如青羊、或如青犬、或如青人、皆壽千歲. § 3, 對俗.

1 元中記. This work is frequently quoted in books from the fifth or sixth century onward, but I have never seen it. It is ascribed to an author bearing the surname of Kwoh 郭, whose personal name is unknown.

2 千歲樹精爲青羊、萬歲樹精爲青牛。多出遊人間。百歲之樹其汁如血. TS, sect. 神異, ch. 315, and sect. 草木, ch. 8.

3 南中有楓子鬼、楓木之老者爲人形、亦呼爲靈楓. The second part。。。千年木精爲青牛. The first part. Compare Sampson's account of the Liquidambar in Notes and Queries on China and Japan, III, p. 4.

"and the answer was: 'In the mount of the Drooping Roof'; on "which he disappeared into an old pine, the shape of which "reminded one indeed of a drooping roof. The envoy was the "tsing of that pine, and the goat its fuh-ling (*infra* p. 299)" [1].

Apart from all those shapes of men and animals, which tree-souls may assume, these souls show themselves frequently as living birds. Those of old firs are represented sometimes as cranes, which, as so many animals, may be transformed men. "In the south of "the Yung-yang region", thus we read, "stands a grotto, and "behind it a solitary pine, ten chang in height. Uninterruptedly "this is visited by a couple of cranes, which are sure to conjoin "their pinions at every sunrise, and to blend their forms in the "evening. Tradition asserts, that in days of yore a married couple "lived hidden in that grotto, who changed into a couple of cranes "after a lapse of several ages" [2]. "It was also stated in a Description "of Customs in Yoh-yang (a part of the prov. of Shansi), that white "cranes are the tsing of old pines and other trees of great age" [3].

Such association of old firs with cranes seems to be very ancient, as it is stated in a book of the Han dynasty "that there was at "the Lung-hing convent of the Eastern Metropolis (Loh-yang) an "old pine, to which tradition ascribed an age of more than a "thousand years, and into which white cranes flew continuously" [4].

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[1] 茅山有野人見一使者、異服、牽一白羊。野人問居何地、曰偃蓋山、隨至古松下而沒、松形果如偃蓋意。使者乃松樹精、羊乃茯苓耳. *Yun sien tsah ki* 雲仙雜記, ten chapters of miscellanies of doubtful authenticity, ascribed to one Fung Chi 馮贄, of whom nothing is known but the name. He may have written it in the first years of the tenth century. More probably, perhaps, the author was the learned Wang Chih 王銍, also named Sing-chi 性之, who flourished in the middle part of the twelfth century. Comp. the *Sze khu ts'üen shu tsung muh*, ch. 140, l. 20.

[2] 崇陽郡南有石室、室後有孤松十丈。常有雙鶴晨必接翮、夕輒偶影。傳曰昔有夫婦二人俱隱此室、年數百化成雙鶴. TS, sect. 草木, ch. 202; quoted from the *Shen king ki* 神境記 or Description of the Regions of the Spirits, a work unknown to me.

[3] 岳陽風土記白鶴老松古木精也. TS, *cap. cit.*

[4] 東都龍興觀有古松樹、相傳云已經千年、常有白鶴飛止其間. *Si-king tsah ki*, *ap.* TS, sect. 草木, ch, 201.

The association is rather natural, as the tree as well as the bird have been from times remote the principal emblems of longevity on account of the capacity, ascribed to both, to live extremely long, the tree, moreover, exhibiting great tenacity of life by its evergreen foliage. As such emblems, they regularly recur conjointly in pictures and other products of Chinese decorative art, as those who occupy themselves therewith will often observe.

The long extract we translated on page 287, shows that the bizarre nodular forms which roots and other parts of plants assume, must have much promoted in China the belief in the animation of such plants. We may even suppose that such deformations, whereas they evoked in simple minds thoughts of real men and animals, may have been the very authors of the assimilation of plant-spirits with men and animals. Be this as it may, it is a fact that instances of trees, branches and roots having assumed human shapes or animal forms, are far from rare in books; and their having attracted attention enough to procure them a place in the records, certainly points to something else than mere observation of accidental capricious growth, namely, to a belief in some indwelling spirit, occasionally showing its presence by preternatural swellings or excrescences.

In conclusion, let us give two quotations more, to bring out in strong relief the connection between the animation of plants and their outward human or animal forms. "It was under the reign "of Hiao Wu of the Tsin dynasty, in the twelfth year of the "T'ai yuen period (A.D. 387), that one Sheu Pan of the Wu "region, also named Tao-chi, settled on the bank of a river. There, "on a wash, a double thing shot up suddenly, like a green reed "without any twigs or leaves. In a few days they were bending "over with their full weight, and he was going to cut them down, "when immediately blood appeared, and a sound was heard in the "hollow inside, like the cry of a gander. Two such cries answered "each other; and inside the plant he found an egg like a duck's, "while its roots showed the countenance and eyes of a snake"[1]. —

[1] 晉孝武太元十二年吳郡壽頌道志邊水爲居。渚次忽生一雙物、狀若青藤而無枝葉。數日盈拱、試共伐之、卽有血出、聲在空中如雄鵝叫。兩音相應、腹中得一卵形如鴨子、其根頭似蛇面眼. TS, sect. 庶徵, ch. 188.

"To the west of Tsin-yang, a certain convent, named the Young "Man's, stood beyond the suburbal pasture-grounds. In the Ching "yuen period (785—805) one Teng Kwei sojourned in it. In the "autumn of that year he had there some friends lodging with "him, and they had closed the door, when an arm appeared through "the window, yellow and very lean. All, except Kwei, startled at "the sight of it; he opened the window and heard a chattering, "shrill voice. Not astonished in the least, he asked: 'Who are you?' "And the answer was: 'I have lived in a glen of these hills for "more than a year; I had this evening a little walk in the breeze "and the moonshine, and hearing you here, I come and see you. "I am unworthy of a place at your table; all I desire is a seat "under this window, to listen to your conversation with your guests'. "Kwei gave him permission to sit down, and the visitor being "seated, he chatted and jested with his guests most merrily, till after "a rather long while the stranger said it was his time to go. While "going away, he said to Kwei: 'To-morrow night I shall be back "here; I hope I shall not then be shown the door, Sir'.

"When he was gone, Kwei said to his guests: 'This certainly is "a spectre; we must trace it, or it will do mischief'. He twisted "a string of silk, several hundred fathoms long, with the object "of binding that devil on its return. It re-appeared next night, and "put its arm through the window, and Kwei forthwith tied the "cord around this limb so firmly that it could not extricate itself. "They then heard it ask, outside the window: 'What harm have "I done you that you thus bind me?' and with these words it "was off, trailing the string along with it. Next morning Kwei "traced its track with his friends, and it took them to a vine with "a very luxuriant foliage, standing over a hundred pu from the "convent, to the north. The string was wound round a branch "of it, a leaf on which resembled a human hand of the same "shape, indeed, they had seen at the window. They had the root "dug up and burned" [1].

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[1] 晉陽西有童子寺在郊牧之外。貞元中有鄧珪者寓居于寺。是歲秋與朋友數輩會宿、既闔扉後忽見一手自牖間入、其手色黃而瘦甚。衆視之俱慄然、獨珪無所懼、反開其牖、聞有唑嘯之聲。珪不之怪、訊之曰、汝爲誰。對曰、吾隱居

The legend of Ts'ui Tao's orange trees which were the souls of a family that had swindled him (p. 275), as also that of the daughter of the mysterious king of mount Sheh-to (p. 285), have shown us that plant-spirits may be souls of definite persons, professedly known by name and origin. This category, however, counts almost for nothing against another of which Chinese writings tell, in which all are anonymous, without any special history.

Among the plant-spirits of whom the Chinese pretend to know precisely the origin and names, none stands so prominent in their religion, from very old times, as that of the millet or tsih 稷, (Milium Vulgare or Panicum Miliaceum L.), known in different parts of the Empire by half a dozen synonyms [1], or perhaps more. No doubt the word tsih denotes the same plant as the liang 粱 or Sorghum (Setaria Italica), or means a variety of it.

In studying Chinese plant-animism, it soon strikes our attention that of all cultivated food-plants, such as corn, beans and potherbs, the millet alone comes to the foreground as animated. It is not difficult to suggest an explanation of this phenomenon. The frequent mention made of this grain in China's most ancient works, as also the fact that it is still to this day the common food in the Empire wherever rice does not grow or is not grown abundantly, are good grounds for the supposition that time was when it was its principal, if not its only cultivated food-plant of significance, and was esteemed on this account so much as to become an animated object of adoration.

山谷有年矣、今夕縱風月之遊、聞先生在此故來奉謁、誠不當列先生之席、願得坐牖下聽先生與客談足矣。珪許之、既坐與諸客談笑極歡、久之告去。將行謂珪曰、明夕當再來、願未見擯。

既去珪與諸客議曰、此必鬼也、不窮其跡且將爲患矣。於是緝絲爲緡數百尋、候其再來係之。明夕果來又以手出于牖間、珪卽以緡系其臂、牢不可解。聞牖外問、何罪而見縛、遂引緡而去。至明日珪與諸客俱窮其跡、至寺北百餘步有蒲桃一株甚蕃茂。而緡系其枝、有葉類人手、果牖間所見者。遂命掘其根而焚之. *Süen-shih chi*; K K, ch. 417.

1 Such as shu 黍, tszŭ 粢, tsi 穄, mi 糜, and kien 糅.

Other edible plants not playing a part in life by far so important, there never was room for them beside the millet for any worship sufficiently significant to maintain itself. Thus it is that, to judge from what we know from books, the millet is in China the only cereal worshipped. Two passages in old works concur to justify somewhat our theory. The *Shwoh wen* says: "The millet is the principal among the five cereals" [1]; and in the *Poh hu t'ung i* we read: "Man has no food but cereals; but of the five cereals there "are so many varieties that he never could sacrifice to each of them "in particular. So the principal among them, viz. millet, was assigned "for worship, and sacrificed to" [2].

The soul by which, from the oldest times known, millet was deemed to be animated, was that of a certain personage of high rank, named Tsih, after the plant itself. It is stated in the *Tso-ch'wen* that one Ts'ai Mih [3] said to Hien-tszĕ of Wei [4]: "Tsih was "a Director of Agriculture. There was a son of the lord of Lieh-"shan (*i. e.* of Shen Nung, the mystic emperor of the 28th. century "B.C. who introduced agriculture), bearing the name of Chu. He "became Tsih, and was sacrificed to under the Hia dynasty and "previously. But Khi of Cheu also became Tsih; he was sacrificed "to during the Shang dynasty, and has been so to this day" [5].

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1 稷五穀之長. Seventh section, I.

2 人非穀不食、五穀衆多不可一一而祭也。稷五穀之長、故封稷而祭之也. *Poh hu t'ung i*, ch. 1, sect. 社稷. This work we had already to quote largely from on pp. 16 *sqq.* We read in the Books of the Later Han Dynasty (ch. 70 II, fl. 11 *seq.*) that in one of the years of the Kien ch'u period which corresponds with A.D. 76—84, the emperor Chang 章 ordered a number of scholars to meet and give their opinions on various matters contained in the Classics: and they brought out the Thorough Discussions on Virtue from the White Tiger, 白虎通德論. which the emperor ordered Pan Ku to collect and edit. These writings were named so from a White Tiger Chamber 白虎觀, where the scholars used to meet; they are generally admitted to be the origin of the *Poh hu t'ung i* or the Thorough Explications from the White Tiger, now extant in four chapters, divided into 44 sections, treating sundry principles of government, ceremonies and rites. This book has always been much esteemed by scholars, and is indeed a rich mine of information about ancient ideas, doctrines and customs. Pan Ku 班固, its author, is the famous compiler of the Books of the Early Han Dynasty.

3 蔡墨. 4 魏獻子.

5 稷田正也。有烈山氏之子曰柱。爲稷、自夏

The *Li ki* (ch. 59, l. 28) relates the same things in the following words: "When the lord of Li-shan (*i. e.* Lieh-shan) possessed the "world, his son Nung (lit. the Cultivator) knew how to cultivate "all the cereals; and when the Hia dynasty had gone to ruin, "Khi of Cheu pursued his work. Thus it is that they were sacrificed "to as Tsih" [1]. To the present day these sacrifices are maintained in China in the State Religion, and they will be attended to in this work in due time and place.

2. On amorphous Plant-Spirits.

We come now to the other category of plant-spirits, those conceived as shapeless doses of shen substance infused into plants from the universal Yang, the male soul of the Cosmos. They constitute, beside the life or tsing of plants, their ling or soul-power, which, if strong enough, may cure the weak and the sick who eat the plants, that is to say, may invigorate their souls or vital forces, thus prolonging their lives considerably or indefinitely.

The belief in plants possessing such shen or ling has exercised in China a mighty influence upon the formation of the medical art. No doubt, man ransacked there the forests and plains for curative plants from an early date, discovering in this way many of good therapeutical effect. As his mental faculties developed, he coupled reasoning with his searches, they thus bringing him on the track of plants the spirit or vital force of which, he thought, could not miss curing his patients and rendering the healthy healthier, by corroborating their souls. Throughout all times we find China's pharmacopaeia richly furnished with such life-conferring medicinal plants.

We can only muster the principal of these, and shall have to leave a great number unnoticed, because they shed no special light on this side of China's therapeutic art. But we may not allow ourselves to pass over the whole subject in silence. For, indeed, the animation of the vegetable kingdom dominates the whole of China's botanical mythology and plant-worship. Besides, the belief in it has

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以上祀之。周棄亦爲稷、自商以來祀之. The 29th. year of Chao's reign.

[1] 厲山氏之有天下也其子曰農能殖百穀、夏之衰也周棄繼之。故祀以爲稷. Sect. 祭法.

created, and continuously recruited, a large class of men seeking prolongation of life, nay total immunity from death, by swallowing animated vegetable products, occasionally with other animated things which will be reviewed in the next chapter; and these men, by attaining their ideal aim, have peopled China's Parnassus with an infinity of divinities. They are known by the name of sien (仙 or 僊), that is to say, men (亻) living in the mountains (山) as hermits or anchorites. We have already occasionally referred to them; but an opportunity to make a more intimate acquaintance with them, the present chapter and the next will afford.

The subject carries us anew right into the field of Taoism. The human soul being a part of the soul or vital force of Nature, wise man, seeking happiness in conformation to the Tao or Course of the Universe, could not but conclude that, by imbibing extra doses of the shen of the Universe, he necessarily invigorated his own. Life being produced in man by infusion of a shen into him, and his death being a departure of that shen to the boundless Universe, (pp. 13 *seq.*), he might escape decay if he could constantly derive new shen matter from the world surrounding him. This process might put off his death, and virtually make him live as long as Heaven and Earth themselves. The vegetable kingdom having so often shown capable to infuse new life into the sick, such plants as were assigned by human reason to be specially endowed with shen or ling, naturally became the drugs of immortality. Thus the art to discover and use them was of old an art eminently Taoistic; the art of acquiring immortality and that of curing the sick naturally coalesced.

From times of yore, that double art was known by the term yang sheng 養生: "the feeding of life or of the existence". It meant "feeding, or corroborating and restoring"[1] the shen, the hwun, or the tsing, but especially the shen of the five viscera, or that of the heart, the central viscus. Vegetable products subservient to the purpose were styled ling yoh 靈藥: "drugs possessing ling"; or shen yoh 神藥: "drugs containing shen matter"; or sien yoh 仙藥: "drugs used by the sien or immortals" or "sien-making drugs". And preparations of such plants, as also of life-instilling substances not belonging to the vegetable kingdom, were styled fang 方 or "expedients", with the same adjectives,

[1] 養 or 補.

while the trees or herbs yielding such preparations were indicated in a corresponding manner.

Heading the list of those plants, we find the pine or fir, sung 松, Pinus Sinensis, beside the cypress, poh 柏, Thuya Orientalis, which, of old, Chinese authors were fond of calling the chiefs of trees [1].

The reasons why their animation is thought to be so strong, need not occupy us here long, for already on pp. 295 *sqq.* of Book I we had to expatiate on this point, in demonstrating that both trees were selected of old as material for coffins and grave-vaults on account of their great vital force, which was thus practically applied to strengthen the soul in the grave. We there mentioned that it was their evergreen foliage, able to resist the most rigorous winter colds, and the stupendous age they occasionally reach, which convinced man in China, that nothing but a strong animation and vital force could work such wonders. We there showed furthermore, that at an early date, Taoist seekers of immortality transplanted that animation into themselves by consuming the resin of those trees, which, apparently, they looked upon as coagulated soul-substance, the counterpart of the blood in men and animals. They called it chi 脂 or juice, kao 膏 or grease, and kiao 膠, glue or gum. To this day, these substances, of which there are a great variety, different in virtues and qualities, occupy a very important place in the Pharmacopaeia. Especially esteemed by doctors and apothecaries is a kind called hu-pʿoh 琥珀, amber, of which they know several species, distinguished by different names according to their colours. In the Books of the Early Han Dynasty (ch. 96 I, l. 11) it is mentioned, as a product of the realm of Ki-pin [2], Cophine, by the homonymous term 虎魄, which means the pʿoh or yin soul of a tiger. This circumstance may be the reason why "Li Shi-chen wrote, that the pʿoh of a tiger, possessed of vital "energy (tsing), sinks on the death of the monster into the soil "and changes into stone, and that the substance in question is "called a tiger's pʿoh because of the outward resemblance it bears "to that stone" [3]. This explication is far from generally received;

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[1] 木之長.

[2] 罽賓.

[3] 李時珍曰、虎死則精魄入地化爲石、此物狀似之、故謂之虎魄. *Pen-tsʿao kang muh*, ch. 37.

and authors mostly subscribe to the opinion of Koh Hung, who said: "The sap of millennial pines changes into h u p'o h" [1] — when it has been for a time in the ground.

A reputable genius indebted for his immortality to pine-resin, was Kiu Sheng [2], who lived under T'ang, the founder of the Shang dynasty, in the 18th. century before our era. "After having held "the office of Intendant of Trees to that sovereign for longer than "thirty years, he was more than ever in his prime and vigour, so "that everybody knew him for a longevous man, and revered "him as a master. His people said he always ate pine-resin" [3]. Another consumer of the same stuff was Chao Khü, whose story we gave on page 297 of Book I; it cured him of a loathsome disease, and conferred on him 170 years of life. One version of that story asserts, that this glorious result was the effect of his eating, moreover, resin of cypresses and pine-seeds [4]. Indeed, seeds are, like the semen of men and animals, wonderful compact concentrations of the life of new individuals, and, consequently, strong condensations of vitality. Their power to confer immortality was sagaciously availed of "by genius Wuh-ts'üen, who, "being fond of pine-seeds, got his body overgrown with hair of "seven ts'u n; his eyes assumed a quadrangular form; he walked "as if borne on wings, and he could overtake horses in full galop. "He sent such seeds to Yao, but this sovereign had no time to "eat them; and those who got them from him and swallowed them "all lived three centuries long" [5]. "It is", says Li Shi-chen, "in

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1 千年松脂化爲琥珀. *Op. cit.*, ch. 34. 2 仇生.

3 湯時爲木正三十餘年而更壯、皆知其壽人也、咸共師奉之。其人云常食松脂. *Lieh sien ch'wen* 列仙傳 or Traditions on the Files of the Sien, a series of notices on some seventy fabulous and semi-fabulous Immortals, ascribed to Liu Hiang, the statesman and scholar of the first century B.C, often mentioned in this work. Some bibliographers, however, dispute him the authorship on account of the discrepancy between the style and that of his time, believing the work to be some centuries younger. It is a standard hagiography of Taoism.

4 See ch. 3 of the *Shen sien ch'wen* 神仙傳: "Traditions on Spirits and Sien, or on Sien possessing s h e n animation", another Taoist hagiography with some ninety biographies, generally ascribed to Koh Hung.

5 偓佺者好食松實、形體生毛長七寸、兩目更方、能飛行逐走馬。以松子遺堯、堯不暇服、時受服者皆三百歲. *Shou shen ki*, ch. I.

"my opinion, no idle gossip of the *Lieh sien chwᶜen*, that Chᶜih-"sung-tszĕ, who ate cypress-seeds, obtained new teeth when his "old ones had fallen out, and could then overtake a galopping "horse" [1]. This wonderful man was a genius of Shen Nung's time. Finally we mention the immortal Tuh-tszĕ of the Han dynasty, "who plucked fir-seeds in the Black Hills when still a youth, as "also fuh-ling, and consumed both, with the effect that for "several centuries he was alternately in full vigour of life and old, "beautiful and ugly; which proves he was a genius" [2].

The leaves of the fir also confer vitality, longevity and immortality. To attest this, authors refer unanimously to Koh Hung. "In the time of Chᶜing, an emperor of the Han dynasty (B.C. 32—6), "some huntsmen saw in the Tsung-nan mounts a naked human "being, with black hairs on its body. They were going to pursue "it, but across glens and vales it fled, as if carried by wings, and "it could not be reached. So they secretly watched where the abode "of that being was; they besieged it there, and caught it, and "then discovered that it was a woman. On their interrogating her, "she related as follows: 'I was a harem dame of the Tsᶜin dynasty. "Hearing that the Kwan-tung rebels were coming, and that the "king, on marching his troops against them, was forced into sub-"mission, as also that they had set fire to the palace-building, fear "made me flee into the hills. I was hungry, but found nothing to "eat; and when on the point of dying, an old man told me to eat "pine-leaves and pine-seeds. I found them bitter and acrid, but I "got accustomed to that taste, and they caused me to feel no "hunger or thirst, neither any cold in winter, nor any heat in summer'. "Admitting this woman was a harem lady of a prince of the Tsᶜin "dynasty, I calculate that in Chᶜing's reign she must have been "over three hundred years old. They took her home, and gave her "cereal food to eat; but she vomited when she smelled corn, and "it took her several days to overcome her aversion for it. She "lived then on such food for more than two years, in which time

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[1] 列仙傳云赤松子食柏實齒落更生、行及走馬諒非虛語也. *Pen-tsᶜao kang muh*, ch. 34.

[2] 犢子少在黑山採松子茯苓餌而服之、且數百年時壯時老、時美時醜、乃知是僊人也. *Lieh sien chᶜwen.*

"she cast the hairs that covered her body, became old, and died"[1].

It is not only mystic men of mystic antiquity who attained results so remarkable. One Wang Hi-i, born about the year 637 of our era, and young and strong enough in his ninety-sixth year to be offered by the Son of Heaven an official appointment, is reported "to have consumed pine and cypress leaves and sundry "flowers, with the effect that, when he had passed his seventieth, "his tendons were still strong, flexible and powerful"[2]. We might quote many more similar instances from modern works, but they would not throw any new light on this subject. Let it merely be noted, that in the fifth century the author of the *Ming i pieh luh*, T'ao Hung-king, confirmed plainly and briefly the wonderful capacities of pine-leaves in these words: "They cause man never to feel hungry, and they lengthen his life"[3].

No product of the pine or fir can compete with fuh-ling 茯苓 in life-lengthening, curative virtue. This stuff seems to be a modified state of the root of that tree, caused by the presence of a fungus, or the fungus itself. It may be Pachyma Cocos, which occurs also in Japan and in North America. It forms underground nodular masses as large as a fist, which sometimes weigh several pounds[4]. T'ao Hung-king described its virtue in the following words: "Pervading the shen (of the person who consumes it), it

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1 漢成帝時獵者於終南山中見一人、無衣服、身生黑毛。獵人見之欲逐取之而其人踰坑越谷有如飛騰、不可遠及。於是乃密伺候其所在、合圍得之、乃是婦人。問之言、我本是秦之宮人也、聞關東賊至、秦王出降、宮室燒燔、驚走入山、飢無所食、垂餓死有一老翁教我食松葉松實、當時苦澁、後稍便之、遂使不飢不渴、冬不寒、夏不熱。計此女定是秦王子嬰宮人、至成帝之世三百許歲。乃將歸以穀食之、初聞穀臭嘔吐、累日乃安。如是二年許、身毛乃脫落、轉老而死. *Pao P'oh-tsze*, ch. II, sect. 僊藥.

2 王希夷餌松柏葉雜華、年七十餘筋力柔强. Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 196, l. 7. Also the Old Books, ch. 192, l. 6.

3 不饑、延年. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 34, l. 10.

4 Bretschneider, Botanicon Sinicum, III, 350.

"brings active soul-strength (l i n g) into him. It brings harmony into "his h w u n and refines his p'o h; it exercises a beneficient influence "upon the openings of his body, and increases the activity of his "arteries; it gives substantiality to his bowels, and opens his heart. "It is a s i e n-making drug of first-rate quality, enabling man to "abstain for good from cereal food without ever feeling hungry" [1]. And according to the *Shen Nung pen-ts'ao king* [2], "it has, when "eaten for a long time, the faculty of setting the h w u n at rest "and of nourishing the s h e n, then causing man to have no longer "any sensations of hunger, and lengthening his life" [3]. The long list of diseases which f u h-l i n g is stated to cure, we leave untouched, as of no interest.

The oldest reference to f u h-l i n g we have in the writings of Liu Ngan. "Under firs of a thousand years", thus this philosopher asserts, "there is f u h-l i n g, above which there is dodder" [4]. In the Historical Records occurs a treatise, additional to the 128th. chapter and composed by Ch'u Siao-sun in the first century B.C., which gives the name of the drug in the written form 伏靈, translatable by "hidden l i n g or soul-power", evidently in reference to the drug being a depository of the vital force or soul of the tree in the roots of which it grows. Perhaps those characters represent the original meaning of the name. That treatise declares that "it "is the root of a millennial pine, which, when eaten, causes "one not to die; it has the shape of a flying bird" [5]. Chang Hwa

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[1] 其通神而致靈。和魂而鍊魄、利竅而益脉、厚腸而開心。上品仙藥也、善能斷穀不飢. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 37, l. 3.

[2] 神農本草經 or Herbal Classic of Shen Nung, a work presumably of very high antiquity, as giving remedies found out by the emperor Shen Nung, the mythic father of Husbandry and Medicine. There is evidence of its existence in the sixth century. According to tradition, it contained three chapters, giving 365 medicines divided into three kinds, according to their tastes. It no longer exists as a separate work, and is only known from quotations in later treatises. The compiler of the *Pen-ts'ao kang muh* gives numerous extracts from it, thus reproducing perhaps all its contents. See ch. 1 of that work, I, l. 1, and ch. 104 of the *Szĕ khu ts'üen shu tsung muh*, ch. 104, ll. 51 *seq.*

[3] 久服安魂、養神、不饑、延年. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 37, l. 2.

[4] 千年之松下有茯苓、上有兎絲. *Hung lieh kiai*, ch. 16.

[5] 伏靈者千歲松根也、食之不死、狀似飛鳥之形. Leaves 4 and 3.

considered fuh-ling to be transformed resin of firs or cypresses; "when the resin of these trees sinks into the ground", he said, "it changes after a thousand years into fuh-ling, which in its "turn changes into hu-p'oh" [1]. And according to Chu Chen-heng [2], "it is formed by absorbing the superfluity of the breath of pines" [3]. "Of late", thus a work of the thirteenth century relates, "the rural "population select the smaller lumps, and tie them within big "pine-roots, which they break into pieces for the purpose. Those "pieces being bound tightly together, the resin (of the root) may "filter into (the fuh-ling); they select watered spots, and bury "them there in a pit; and when, after three years, they take "them out, the lumps have become big fuh-ling lumps" [4]. This method of cultivation is described by Father Havret on page 88 of his dissertation on the Ngan-hwui province [5]; he states that the lumps may reach the size of a human head.

The *Pen-ts'ao kang muh* mentions the fuh-ling also under the name of fuh-shen 伏神, "hidden shen". "The Historical "Records", thus the compiler of that work wrote, "call it hidden "ling (see above). It is, indeed, the breath or influence of the "ling of the shen of the fir, which harbours in it, and forms "it by a process of consolidation; and so those Records calls it "hidden ling, which is identical with hidden shen" [6]. Some

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1 松柏脂入地千年化爲茯苓、茯苓化爲琥珀. *Poh wuh chi*, ch. 4.

2 朱震亨, also known by the name of Yen-siu 彥修, or as the Old Sire of Tan-khi 丹溪翁 or 丹溪先生. He was a native of I-wu 義烏 in Chehkiang, and lived from 1281 to 1358. He is one of the greatest physicians China has produced. Half a dozen medical treatises are ascribed to him, and also a work on Fung-shui. A large treatise on himself and his physiological and medical philosophy occurs in the TS, sect. 藝術, ch. 529.

3 茯苓得松之餘氣而成. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 37, l. 3.

4 近世村民乃擇其小者、以大松根破而繫于其中。而緊束之、使脂液滲入于內、然後擇地之沃者、坎而埜之、三年乃取、則成大苓矣. *Kwei-sin tsah shih; ap.* TS, sect. 草木, ch. 202.

5 The second volume of the "Variétés Sinologiques", 1893.

6 史記作伏靈。蓋松之神靈之氣伏結而成、故謂之伏靈、伏神也. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 37, l. 1.

medical authors make nice distinctions between fuh-ling and fuh-shen, ascribing to either special curative virtues; but we need not follow them in these subtilities.

It will not have escaped the attention of the reader that plants, famous for the possession of an amorphous soul highly beneficial to man, may also harbour a spirit, either good or bad, shaped as a man or an animal. Striking instances of such double animation were indeed, furnished in this chapter by the pine and its fuh-ling. It might be asked whether the Chinese take such a double soul for two conditions of one soul only. Not knowing, however, any native authors who have bothered their brains with this question, we must plead incompetency to solve it. Still we may attest the prevalence of a belief in a double animation by reproducing the following tale, referring evidently to a piece of fuh-ling, or a similar difformity of some root:

"North-west of Shen-cheu there was, on the White Path ridge, a "village, named Lo, one of the inhabitants of which, belonging to the "T'ien clan, occupied himself with digging wells. Once he found a "root in the ground, as large as an arm, having a joint in the middle "and a coarse bark. It looked like fuh-ling, but it smelled of shuh "(s. page 313). The family being Buddhists, they had several dozen "images in their house, before which they now placed their find; "and T'ien's daughter, whose name was Ting-liang, a real beauty "of sixteen or seventeen, was as a rule appointed by her father to "sacrifice incense to it.

"One year thus passed away, when the girl began to see every "now and then a young man in white, with shoes on, passing in and "out the apartment of the images. She indulged in sexual famili- "arity with him, in consequence of which her soul had sensations "different from usual, whenever she moved or rested. And every "year, in spring, the root bore sprouts. As the maid became "pregnant, she related her adventure to her mother, who did not "much credit the miraculous part of it. So the family called in a "Buddhist monk, who was in the habit of passing by there, and "gave him a meal; but when this man entered the apartment "where the Buddhas stood, he was regularly thrust back by some "being. On another day, when the maid was out with her mother, "the monk entered that hall; but no sooner did he open the "door than a dove flew up against him, and disappeared. That "evening the girl did not perceive any apparition, but she saw "the root suddenly become a rotten, worm-eaten substance. In the

"seventh month of her pregnancy she gave birth to a thing with "three joints, shaped like the root in front of the images. T'ien "burned it, all strange apparition thereupon remaining away for "good" [1].

Trees occupying, on account of their animation, a position in Chinese superstition and lore as life-lengthening agencies, are numerous. We almost dare say that all trees bearing useful fruit, or producing aromatic and edible matter of importance, belong to them. Mostly it is the fruits or kernels of such so-called sien-trees [2] that confer life, strength, health, longevity, and immortality. Abstaining from giving particulars on this head, which would be monotonous and tedious, we only mention the Plum 李, the Pear 梨, and the Jujube (Zizyphus) 棗, as also the Nai 柰, a still unidentified tree. Seeds of the Cassia 桂, the Chinese Cinnamon tree, gave immortality to P'eng-tsu [3], a Methuselah seven hundred years old in the twelfth century before our era [4], as also to Fan Li [5], a renowned Minister of the kingdom of Yueh in the fifth century B.C. By no means, however, did each specimen of those species possess life-conferring capacities. It always was from a very exceptional few that the sien plucked immortalizing fruits or seeds, either eating them themselves, or giving them to their favourites

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[1] 陝州西北白徑嶺上邏村、村人田氏常穿井。得一根、大如臂、節中粗皮。若茯苓、氣似朮。其家奉釋有像設數十、遂寘於像前、田氏女、名登娘、年十六七、有容質、父常令供香火焉。

經歲餘女常見一少年出入佛堂中、白衣躡履。女遂私之、精神舉止有異於常矣。其物根每歲至春萌芽。其女有娠、乃以其事白於母、母疑其怪。常有衲僧過門、其家因留之供養、僧將入佛宇、輒爲物拒之。一日女隨母他出、僧入佛堂、門纔啟有鴿一隻拂僧飛去。其夕女不復見其怪、視其根頓成朽蠹。女娠纔七月產物三節、其形如像前根也。田氏併火焚之、其怪亦絕. *Yu-yang tsah tsu*, supplement, ch. II.

[2] 仙木 or 仙樹.

[3] 彭祖.

[4] See the *Shen shen ki*, ch. 1.

[5] 范蠡.

among men. Tradition relates also of life-conferring trees planted by such Genii expressly for mankind, or owing their wonderful quality to the fact of their having been sowed by such immortal hands. Such trees were always extremely rare and, moreover, difficult to get at, standing, as a rule, in remote mountain recesses, or on inaccessible heights, where Genii were wont to retire from mortal life. Nevertheless, favourites of fortune did occasionally find them, and thus could eternize themselves. The fruits were distinguishable from the common ones by their extraordinary size. The best of all sien-trees grew in the parks and groves of Si Wang-mu [1], a mystic Queen of the sien living in a Paradise in the mysterious West, on which we shall have to expatiate afterwards in due time and place; and many specimen, growing within human reach, were reputedly produced from seeds obtained from that region of bliss. These are the Si Wang-mu trees, frequently mentioned, with great monotony, in botanical myth and fable.

Of traditional fame are certain peaches, which that fairy Queen deemed worth bringing in her own high person to one of the most glorious Sons of Heaven China has ever possessed, viz. Wu [2] of the Han dynasty (140—86 B.C.). "In the fourth month, this monarch "suddenly saw a maid in blue, an extraordinary beauty, who said "to him: 'On the seventh day of the seventh month Wang-mu "will come here for a few moments'. That day having come, the "Emperor, donned in full ceremonial dress, awaited her, standing "at the foot of the steps. After the second night-watch something "like a white cloud suddenly arose in the south-west; music of "pipes and drums resounded through the clouds, mingling with the "noise of men and horse, and in a moment Wang-mu was on the "spot. She entered the hall, and sat down (on the west side), her "face turned to the east. And with her own hands she set out a "celestial repast, consisting of things really most exquisite and of "extraordinary kind, with an abundance of precious fruit of first-"rate quality, fragrant flowers in hundreds of varieties, as red "chi, wei-jui etc., such as do not grow on this earth. Then she "told one of her handmaids to get her some peaches. In a moment "a dish of jade with seven sien-peaches as large as duck's eggs, "round and blue, was tendered to her. Four of the peaches she "gave the Emperor, and three she ate herself; and the Son of

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[1] 西王母. [2] 武.

"Heaven having eaten his, put away the stones, saying he intended "to sow them. But Wang-mu said: 'Those peach trees bear fruit "only once in three thousand years; the soil in China is too barren "for them to grow'" [1] ....

Of the sien who owed their immortality to peaches, we mention "Tung Tszĕ-yang, who, familiar from his youth with the ways "conducive to prolongation of life, lived in seclusion in the Poh-loh "mounts for more than ninety years, on no other food than peaches, "and water issuing from the rocks [2]. And Kao Khiu-kung became "a sien by eating peach-gum" [3]. As to the reasons of the peach occupying so high a place in the list of life-prolonging plants, we can tell the reader nothing, for Chinese books leave us here completely in the dark. Perhaps we have to explain the matter from the circumstance that the tree is sometimes identified with the East, which is the region of life because the life of Nature, incorporated with the sun, proceeds from it. "In the East", thus we read in an old work, "there is a tree, fifty chang high, with leaves of "eight chʻih. Its name is peach. Its stones are three chʻih and

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[1] 至四月帝忽見一女子、著青衣、美麗非常、曰至七月七日王母暫來也。到七月七日帝乃盛服立於堦下。到夜二更之後忽見西南如白雲起、聞雲中簫鼓之聲人馬之響、半食頃王母至也。王母上殿東向坐。自設天厨、眞妙非常、豐珍上果、芳華百味、紫芝萎蕤、非地上所有。又命侍女更索桃果。須臾以玉盤盛僊桃七顆、大如鴨卵、形圓青色、以呈王母。母以四顆與帝、三顆自食、帝食輒收其核。王母曰、此桃三千年一生實、中夏地薄、種之不生. *Han Wu-ti nei chʻwen*, or Home Traditions concerning the Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty. We mentioned this work already on page 56 of Book I. It consists of only a few leaves, ascribed to Pan Ku, but there is no evidence this scholar was their author. They record hardly anything else than Wang-mu's visit to the emperor, inclusive of a lengthy Taoistic philosophical discourse she held on that occasion. A brief account of that visit occurs also in the *Poh wuh chi*, ch. 8.

[2] 董子陽少知長生之道、隱博落山中九十餘年、但食桃飲石泉. *Shen sien chʻwen*, ch. 10.

[3] 高丘公服桃膠而得仙. The same work, according to the T'S. sect. 草木, ch. 219.

"two inches in diameter. If broth mixed with kernels of those "stones is eaten, it confers longevity" [1].

Before taking leave of the sien-trees, we must still mention the fu-sang 扶桑. Chinese botanists give short descriptions of this tree; yet it is probably altogether fabulous. It gave its name to a country, the reality or non-reality of which has been a subject of much speculation and controversy among sinologists. The Chinese place that region far away in the eastern Ocean, and always deemed it inhabited by sien. Perhaps it is a product of the imagination of a single author, Tung Fang-shoh [2], who made it the eastern counterpart of Si Wang-mu's paradise of sien. "That country", thus we read in the *Shih cheu ki*, a work thought to owe its existence to his prolific fancy, "possesses many forest-trees, with leaves resembling "in every respect those of the mulberry. Besides, there are there "mulberry trees, the big among which are several dozen chang high, "with a circumference of more than twenty double arm-lengths; "and these trees grow in pairs on the same root, and every pair "lean against one another; hence their name fu-sang: 'leaning "mulberries'. The sien eat the berries, the effect being that their "bodies emit from all their parts a golden glare, and that they "can soar through the air. The trees bear fruit only once in nine "thousand years" [3].

Beside trees conferring vitality and prolonging life, Chinese lore knows a series of animated shrubs and herbs producing in man similar beneficial effects. Prominent among them stands the chi 芝. Chinese botanists apply this name to various mushrooms, which they distinguish in six sorts, according to their colours; one sort

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[1] 東方有樹高五十丈、葉長八尺。名曰桃。其子徑三尺二寸。和核羹食之令人益壽. *Shen i king* 神異經 or Canon of strange Things connected with Souls or Gods; some fifteen leaves of notes on marvellous matters, ascribed of old to Tung Fang-shoh 東方朔, a favourite of Wu of the Han dynasty, credited by posterity with supernatural wisdom and power. Criticism, however, refuses to give that work an age beyond the fourth or the fifth century.

2 See note 1.

[3] 地多林木、葉皆如桑。又有椹樹、長者數十丈、大二十餘圍、樹兩兩同根偶生、更相依倚、是以名爲扶桑。仙人食其椹而一體皆作金光色、飛翔空中。九千歲一生實耳。

especially seems to be denoted by them as ling chi, that is, "chi possessed of soul-power", and is sold still nowadays in drug-shops. Bretschneider [1] thinks it may be a branched Fungus or Agaricus.

The *Shwoh wen* says: "The chi is chi possessed of shen" [2]. Clear reference to the ancient belief in its life-conferring properties we find for the first time in the *Shih cheu ki*. "The isle of Tsu "is situated close by, in the Eastern Sea. There grows a never- "dying plant, shaped like water-grass, with blades three ch'ih by "four in length. A man who has been dead three days, revives "immediately on this plant being laid upon him. When it is eaten, "it prolongs life. In the time of Shi Hwang of the Ts'in dynasty, "when murdered people lay broadcast in the wide plains and "across the roads, birds resembling crows or ravens appeared "with this plant in their bills, and placed it on the faces of those "corpses, with the effect that they sat up immediately, and revived. "The officers reported this to the Emperor. On this, Shi Hwang "sent out an envoy to find this herb for him; and he interrogated "the doctor of the Spectre Valley [3], who lived near the north wall. "'This herb', thus spoke this sage, 'is the herb of immortality of "the Tsu island in the Eastern Ocean, where it grows in a red "marble field. Some call it chi which feeds the shen. Its leaves "resemble those of water grass; its stalks grow luxuriantly, and "one stalk suffices to give life to a man'. On these words Shi "Hwang showed some agitation, and spoke: 'Can it be fetched "from there?' And he sent an envoy to the island, one Sü Fuh, "with five hundred young people of both sexes, with command of "a ship with decks. They put to sea to seek the island, but they "never came back" [4].

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1 Botanicon Sinicum, III, page 419; and II, page 40.

2 芝神芝也. Sect. I, 2.

3 鬼谷先生. A Taoist ascetic philosopher, named Wang Hü 王詡, said to have given instruction to some disciples. He may be quite fabulous.

4 祖洲近在東海之中。上有不死之草、草形如菰、苗長三四尺。人已死三日者以草覆之、皆當時活也。服之令人長生。昔秦始皇大苑中多枉死者橫道、有鳥如烏狀啣此草覆死人面、當時起坐而自活也。有司聞奏。始皇遣使者齎草、以問北郭鬼谷先生。鬼谷先生云、此草是東海祖

The same little book mentions four other mystic islands producing such wonderful chi. In one, named Yuen [1], in the north sea, five varieties grew, "prolonging the life of those taking them, or causing "them not to die [2]; and in the island of Fang-chang, in the centre "of the eastern sea, many myriads of families of immortals were "engaged in working fields for the cultivation of chi" [3]. That still other mystic islands were told to be inhabited by such sien owing their immortality to the plant, need hardly be said.

It seems admissible that such tales were not merely productions of the imagination of the author who wrote them, but that they were rather instilled into his writing-brush by prevailing tradition and superstition in regard of chi. That they were the chief agents by which this plant maintained itself in the esteem of the people and its quack doctors as a wonderful life-bestowing herb, we may take for granted. Other books on the marvellous contain statements of countries inhabited by sien planting chi in their gardens for food; but they teach us nothing worth mentioning respecting the peculiar ideas entertained about the plant. For particulars about these we have to search the writings of Koh Hung. This great doctor of occultism distinguishes between five sorts of chi, each of which is subdivided into more than a hundred varieties. One sort comprises "the rock-chi or stone elephant-chi, which grows "in famous mountains at the corners of the sea, and on accumulated "rocks or stones in deep and low places in islands. That shaped as a "fleshy elephant with a head, a tail, and four feet, is the best, as "it resembles a living being" [4]. There exist chi-varieties which emit light, strong enough to see it when three hundred paces off.

洲上有不死之草、生瓊田中、或名爲養神芝、其葉似菰苗叢生、一株可活一人。始皇於是慨然言曰、可採得否。乃使使者徐福發童男童女五百人、率攝樓船等。入海尋祖洲、遂不返。

[1] 元. [2] 服此五芝亦得長生不死.

[3] 方丈洲在東海中心、仙家數十萬耕田種芝草.

[4] 石芝者石象芝生於海隅名山及島嶼之涯有積石者。其狀如肉象有頭尾四足者良、似生物也. *Pao P'oh-tsze*, ch. II, sect. 僊藥.

Some varieties are very large and heavy. Only those who fast for a long time with great earnestness, and then arm themselves with powerful charms, are able to find chi. "He who discovers "the plant must cover it with a charm which is able to dispel evil "when the mountains become accessible, for it is thus that he will "prevent the plant from concealing itself again and dissolving. Then, "without any precipitation, he must select a wang-siang day "for offering to the plant a formal sacrifice, consisting of spirits and "meat; and when taking it away after having said a prayer, he "must perform Yü paces in the direction of the setting sun, and "march off with suppressed respiration. He who finds petrimorphous "chi and pounds it with 36,000 pestle-strokes, and takes it by "spoons of a square inch to a quantity of one pound a day, will "reach an age of a thousand years; and should he thus daily "consume ten pounds, he will live a myriad years.

"And chi of jade-grease grows on mountains which contain "jade. It always stands there in steep, overhanging spots. When "grease of the jade has emerged there for more than ten thousand "years, it coagulates and forms chi, sometimes shaped as birds or "quadrupeds. If you triturate such a specimen, and mix the powder "with sap of the wu-sin plant, it liquifies immediately; and if you "drink one pint of this fluid, you will become a thousand years old" [1].

Especially animated, and consequently of hightly wonderful effect in medicine, were, as Koh Hung teaches us, certain chi varieties growing at the roots of animated pine trees, thus deriving vitality from them. "As to tree-chi", thus he wrote, "when gum or resin "of pines trickles into the ground, it changes in a thousand years "into fuh-ling, over which, a myriad years later, little trees

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[1] 凡見諸芝且先以開山郤害符置其上、則不得復隱蔽化去矣。徐徐擇王相之日設醮祭以酒脯、祈而取之從日下禹步閉氣而往也。又若得石象芝擣之三萬六千杵服方寸匕、日至盡一斤則得千歲、十斤則萬歲。

玉脂芝生於有玉之山。常居懸危之處。玉膏流出萬年已上則凝而成芝、有似鳥獸之形。得而末之、以無心草汁和之、須臾成水、服一升得一千歲也. *Loc cit.*

"shoot up, resembling lotus flowers, which are known by the name "of muh-wei-hi chi. This stuff emits light when it is dark. "In the hand it feels very smooth; when kindled, it does not "flame; when carried about the loins, it wards off weapons. If "plucked on the life-gate side (the east), and dried for a hundred "days in a shady place on the six kiah days, then one spoon of "a square inch of the powder, taken three times a day, confers a "life of three thousand years. And the branches of pines of three "thousand years contain under their bark accumulations of resin "shaped like dragons, called jeh-fei-tsieh chi, the biggest lumps "of which have a weight of ten pounds. If you pulverize these, "and consume ten pounds of the powder, you will become five "hundred years old" [1].

"Cowhorn-chi has the shape of a cowhorn; it is three by four "ch'ih in size, and has a blue colour. If taken in a powdered "form in one inch spoonfuls, three times a day, and continued "in this way for a hundred days, it will make you live a thousand "years. And lung-sien chi is shaped like dragons ascending "into the air and bearing one another on their back, the leaves "being their scales. Its root resembles a coiled-up dragon. One "twig of it will make him who eats it, live a thousand years" [2]. In this tune our author musters other varieties of chi, without adding, however, any more novelties. But we have now heard quite enough from him to understand, that the several species of chi were deemed to be so eminently animated principally because of their reminding so often, by their forms and fleshy constitution,

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[1] 及夫木芝者松脂淪入地千歲化爲茯苓、萬歲其上生小木、狀似蓮花、名曰木威喜芝。夜視有光。持之甚滑、燒之不然、帶之辟兵。從生門上採之、於六甲陰乾之百日、末服方寸匕、日三盡一枚則三千歲也。又松樹枝三千歲者其皮中有聚脂狀如龍形、名曰日飛節芝、大者重十斤。末服之盡十斤得五百歲也. *Ibid.*

[2] 牛角芝如牛角、長三四尺青色。末服方寸匕日三至百日、則得千歲矣。龍僊芝狀似昇龍之相負也、以葉爲鱗。其根則如蟠龍。服一枝則得千歲矣. *Ibid.*

of birds, quadrupeds, dragons, and even men; furthermore, many proved their animation by emitting light; finally, by growing on or by animated firs of great age, they derived from these special animation and vitality. It is, after all this, no longer a mystery why Koh Hung mentions some sorts of chi by the names of "toads ten thousand years old" [1], "millenarian bats" [2], "millenarian animated tortoises" [3], and "swallows of a thousand years of age" [4].

Chang Hwa asserts, "that the best sorts of chi are shaped like "cars and horses, the middle sorts like men, and the inferior like "the six domestic animals" [5]. In sundry works we find all this information over and over again in varied forms, and from the Han dynasty onward, chi remains a favourite topic for adulation with poets and prose-writers. It is really striking how numerous the instances are, which the Standard Histories and other works, down to the Sung dynasty, have to mention of chi found growing in rooms, gardens, palaces, and, everywhere throughout the Empire, in mountains and fields, and sent to the Court as a present or tribute portending bliss and good; and none of those communications leave any room for doubting, that the reasons why such discoveries were considered and treated as good omens, are likewise to be sought in the plants being believed to be animated by superior shen substance, borrowed from heaven. This is confirmed at the same time by the fact, that it is so often called in those communications ling chi: "animated chi".

As a matter of course, written stories abound of men, old and decrepid, who found themselves young again after eating chi accidentally, then seeing their bald pates overgrown with young hair, and their lost teeth replaced by new ones. Most popular, and told and re-told in Taoist works, is the story of one Siao Tsing-chi [6], a mere wreck, who underwent total restoration by means of a piece of chi shaped like a fleshy arm, which he found in the ground, and cooked and devoured. The medicinal virtues of chi are generally summed up thus in pharmaceutic works: it tranquilizes

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1 萬歲蟾蜍.
2 千歲蝙蝠.
3 千歲靈龜.
4 千歲燕.
5 上芝爲車馬、中芝爲人形、下芝爲六畜. *Poh wuh chi*, ch. I, § 物產.
6 蕭靜之.

the hwun, the seat of vitality [1]; it strengthens the khi or breath [2], that is to say, the yang soul. When taken for a long time, it renders the body light [3]. It lengthens life [4]; it causes man not to grow old [5]; it makes him an animated sien [6].

From the resemblance they bear to chi, and their being thus easily confounded therewith, ordinary edible mushrooms or kiün 菌, more popularly called tree-ears 木耳, are highly appreciated in China as drugs, and represented sometimes in fable as life-prolonging. Like tree-souls, souls of mushrooms may show themselves in human forms, as Koh Hung clearly attests: "When you see in the "mountains a dwarf in a car or on horseback, who is seven by "eight inches in height, he is a fleshy chi. Catch him and eat "him, and you will become an immortal man" [7]. And Twan Chʿing-shih relates: "In the Süen-pʿing ward of the Metropolis "there lived a mandarin, who, while on his way home in the dark, "met, in a crooked lane, an oil-vendor with a broad hat on, driving "a donkey, laden with two barrels. As this fellow did not go aside, "the retinue dealt blows at him, with the result that his head "tumbled from his shoulders. Off the oilman galoped through the "gate of a large house, much to the astonishment of the mandarin, "who, following at his heels, saw him disappear at the foot of a "big Sophora tree. The inmates, warned by the grandee, dug up "the spot immediately, to find at a depth of several chʿih, under "a decayed part of the roots, a big frog in a position as if it were "loaded on either side with a little pencil-point protector of metal, "which the sap of the tree had filled; further there was there a "large white mushroom, looking like a rotten pin from the gate "of the mansion, from which the head had fallen off. The toad "was the donkey, the pencil-point protectors were the oil-barrels, "and the mushroom was the oil-man. Those in the village who had "bought of his oil for more than a month, had wondered at its "being so good and cheap; but now, after the spook was unmasked, "all those who had partaken of it became sick and vomited it" [8].

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1 安精魂. 2 補氣. 3 輕身.
4 延年. 5 不老. 6 爲神仙.

7 或山中見小人乘車馬長七八寸者、肉芝也。取服之卽仙矣. *Pao Pʿoh-tszˇ*, *ap.* KK, ch. 413.

8 京宣平坊有官人夜歸入曲、有賣油者張帽

Another plant highly appreciated in superstition and medicine, is the shuh 朮, Atractylis (?). It is valued especially for its root, which has a bitter or acrid taste. In the beginning of the fourth century, an author wrote: "Among the medicinal plants we have "khih-lih-kia, which is shuh. It grows in the sea-districts. One "root weighs sometimes several pounds. Liu Küen-tszé simmered "the roots, and taught people to make pills of the substance thus "obtained, which, when taken, lengthened life" [1].

The reasons why this plant was of old consumed with much avidity by Taoists in search of immortality, thus gaining a foremost place in the Pharmacopaeia, are given in an old work, entitled *Wan pih shuh* [2], ascribed to Liu Ngan, the prince and philosopher of Hwai-nan. "Shuh is the vital energy (tsing) "of high grounds. It concretes in itself the vital breath (tsing-"khi) of the Yin and the Yang. Therefore, when eaten, it "lengthens life, enables one to abstain from cereal food, and makes "him a sien full of shen. Hence it is that the Medicinal Classic "of Shen Nung says: 'If you desire to prolong your life, you must

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驅驢馱桶。不避導者搏之、頭隨而落。遂遽入一大宅門、官人異之遂入、至大槐樹下遂滅。因告其家、卽掘之、深數尺其樹根枯下有大蝦蟆、如疊挾二筆鍤、樹溜津溝其中也、及巨白菌如殿門浮漚釘、其蓋已落。蝦蟆卽驢矣、筆鍤乃油桶也、菌卽其人也。里有沽其油者月餘、怪其油好而賤、及怪露食者悉病嘔洩. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 15.

[1] 藥有乞力伽、朮也。瀕海所產。一根有至數斤者。劉涓子取以作煎、令可丸、餌之長生. *Nan fang ts'ao-muh chwang* 南方草木狀, "Account of the Flora in the South", an interesting collection of notes on some eighty southern plants, ascribed to Hi Han 嵇含, *al.* Kiün-tao 君道, a grandee murdered in 306 or 307 at the age of forty-four. It is the earliest exclusively botanical work now extant.

[2] 淮南王萬畢術. I find this book among the works on divination in the Catalogues in the Books of the T'ang Dynasty (New Books, ch. 59, l. 28: Old Books, ch. 47, l. 16), with the addition that it consisted of one chapter, and was written by Liu Ngan. It seems, however, to have existed earlier than the T'ang dynasty, for it is probably the work mentioned as *Hwai-nan wan pih king* 淮南萬畢經 in the Sui Catalogue (Books of the Sui Dynasty, ch. 34, l. 27), among some other books extant under the Liang dynasty.

"take highland tsing; and if you wish to become light and "volatile, take hill-ginger" [1].

The wonderful capacity of shuh to strengthen and prolong human life, is advocated with ardour by Koh Hung. "One Mr. Wen "of Nan-yang," thus he wrote, "relates that one of his ancestors "had to flee into the mountains during the great troubles at the "end of the Han dynasty. About to die from want and exhaustion, "a man appeared, who told him to eat shuh, on which he felt "no hunger for several dozen years. He returned to his native "place, in possession of a countenance more youthful than it was "when he fled, his breath and vigour being now in much better "condition than they were of old. He related himself how, during "his stay in those hills, his body was so light that, when climbing "up-hill along steep paths, he could do so for many days consecu- "tively without feeling tired, and that, when crossing ice and snow, "he did not feel the slightest cold.... A name of the shuh is hill- "tsing, and it is of it that the 'Classic of Drugs imbued with "shen Substance' says: 'If it is your serious wish to live a long "life, well, consume hill-tsing for some long time" [2].

By far the most renowned of all medicinal roots is that which Europeans know as ginseng, that is to say, jen-sen, the original, correctly written form of which word, as the *Shwoh wen* gives it, is 人薓. This vocabulary says, "it is a medicinal herb produced in Shang-tang" [3], which is the present Lu-ngan [4], in south-east Shansi. About the time when the author of the *Shwoh wen* lived, it may have been customary to write the term also with the characters 人參, for we find it in this form in the *Ts'ien fu lun*,

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[1] 朮草者山之精也。結陰陽精氣。服之令人長生、絶穀、致神仙。故神農藥經曰、予欲長生、當服山精、予欲輕翔、當服山薑. TS, sect. 草木, ch. 102.

[2] 南陽文氏說其先祖漢末大亂逃出山中。饑困欲死、有一人教之食朮、遂不能飢數十年。乃來還鄉里、顏色更少、氣力勝故。自說在山中時身輕、欲跳登高履險歷日不極、行冰雪中了不知寒。。。朮一名山精、故神藥經曰、必欲長生、長服山精. *Pao P'oh-tsz̆*, ch. II, sect. 僊藥.

[3] 藥艸、出上黨. First Section, II.

[4] 潞安.

in the following passage: "To cure disease, we must have jen-sen" [1]. Ever since, the word occurs in the latter shape, while the other form remains obsolete. In none of the Classics is the drug mentioned, and we know no book of pre-Christian times in which its name occurs.

The fact that ginseng is often called in medical works t'u-tsing 土精 or ti-tsing 地精, "tsing or vital energy of the soil", testifies decisively that, just as is the case with shuh, it owes its supposed curative virtue to an animation borrowed from the earth. The first of those names occurs already in the *I yuen*, thus being at least as old as the fifth century. Another reason for he plant being believed to be animated, is its possessing a forked root, which reminds one of human forms. Li Shi-chen says, "that whereas "its root resembles a man in shape and thus possesses a shen, it is "called jen-sen" [2], that is to say, man-sen. So, like man, the plant has a dual soul, the one borrowed from the earth, and the other, as all shen are, from heaven. More than a thousand years before Li Shi-chen lived, the author of the *I yuen* wrote: "Jen-sen is named also tsing of the soil. The Shang-tang kind "is the best, as the human shape it possesses there is complete in "every respect. It wails there like a child. In bygone times, some "people digging for the plant had just thrust their hoes into the "ground, when they heard a plaintive wailing inside it. They dug "on the spot where the sound came from, and found in fact gin-"seng" [3]. It is even recorded in the Standard History of the Sui dynasty, "that in Kao Tsu's reign (589—605) there was in Shang-"tang a house, behind which every night a man was heard calling. "The inmates sought for him, but they found nobody. They dis-"covered, however, at one mile from the house, a ginseng-root "with big twigs and luxuriant foliage, which they unearthed, to find "that the root was more than five feet long, and shaped in every "respect like a man. On this the cries were heard no more" [4].

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1 治病當得人參; ch. II, sect. 8.

2 根如人形有神、故謂之人蔘. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 12, I.

3 人參一名土精。生上黨者佳、人形皆具。能作兒啼。昔有人掘之、始下鏵便聞土中呻吟聲。尋音而取、果得人參. T S, sect. 草木, ch. 125.

4 高祖時上黨有人宅、後每夜有人呼聲。求之

The statement that ginseng-roots, having a human shape, possess shen, occurs in various writings, without these, as far as we know, giving any other positive reasons for the animation of the plant and for the high reputation it has always enjoyed. Thus, its salutary properties simply tend to invigorate the soul of him who consumes it. "It strengthens the five viscera, it sets at rest the "vital shen, and gives stability to the hwun and the pʿoh. "It puts an end to timorousness, removes noxious influences, "and sharpens the eye-sight, opening the heart, and increasing "knowledge and wisdom. And if consumed for some length of "time, it renders the body light and prolongs life" [1]. In short, ginseng is a universal medicine, and therefore it is superfluous to muster the long list of diseases it is assured by medical works to cure. As may be expected, the root is especially recommended for "diseases caused by separation of the hwun from the body" [2], as when the soul, having passed out of the body during sleep, cannot return into it on account of one or more viscera having been in the mean time occupied by obnoxious influences. And promoting, as it does, vitality, ginseng is considered a powerful stimulant of the sexual organs, much taken therefore by men and women anxious to increase their progeny and combat impotence.

After all, there is little doubt that we have in ginseng the Chinese representative of the mandragora or mandrake of our own ancient and mediæval Europe, which played its highly important part in therapeutics and superstition likewise on account of its passing for a homunculus because of the human form of its root. This "anthropomorphon", too, was asserted to cry piteously, especially when being extirpated. There may have existed still one reason why, in China, ginseng was considered animated. Its plants were of old believed there to be fragments of a bright star, and, consequently, of the luminous shen of the celestial sphere itself. The *Chʿun-tsʿiu wei shu* stated, in fact: "The star named Swinging Brightness forms "ginseng by breaking into atoms. When a Ruler of mankind neglects

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不得。去宅一里所但見人參一本、枝葉峻茂、因掘去之、其根五尺餘、具體人狀。呼聲遂絶. Ch. 23, l. 1.

[1] 補五臟、安精神、定魂魄。止驚悸、除邪氣、明目、開心、益智。久服輕身、延年. *Shen Nung pen-tsʿao king*, quoted in the *Pen-tsʿao kang muh*, ch. 12, I.

[2] 離魂疾.

"to derive advantage from hills and streams, that luminary does not "shine bright, nor does there grow any ginseng then"[1]. That star belongs to the Great Bear group. Reasons why it should be the creator of ginseng, we have nowhere found, so that we are unable to give our readers any.

Ginseng-roots have a sweet taste. They are on sale in China everywhere in apothecary shops. Much was written on them in Europe already in 1718 and 1719, and our physicians have often made experiments with them, without, however, finding them to possess any important curative properties. The plant has palmate leaves, and red, berry-like fruit. Our botanists call it Panax Ginseng. It grows wild in all the northern provinces of the Empire. It is abundant also in Manchuria and Corea, from where large quantities of roots are exported to China. Perhaps it is cultivated, as it is in Japan. Chinese herbalists know several sorts of different qualities and virtues, commanding various prices. Thousands of piculs are exported annually to the South. There too the plant grows, producing, however, roots of very inferior quality[2]. Because of their high commercial value, all wild ginseng-roots, or at least the best kinds, are laid hands upon by the Imperial Government as its exclusive property, and monopolized on behalf of the fisc. A so-called Administrative Yü-heng Court[3], a sub-department of the Board of Works, is mentioned in the *Ta Ts'ing hwui tien* (ch. 73) as storing them up and administering the monopoly, at the same time with that of pearls and sable-skins, obtained from Tsitsihar and other dependencies. Under this dynasty, it was always severely forbidden, and even punished as a capital crime, to encroach upon the monopoly and seek ginseng for one's own profit. In particular it is forbidden to dig for it in Imperial mausoleum-grounds and their immediate surroundings. The long article of the Law, enacted for this purpose, we have translated on page 911 of Book I.

Much appreciated for its health-restoring and life-lengthening qualities, and inferior to nothing but ginseng in popular esteem as a store of vitality and soul-substance, is hwang-tsing 黃精,

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[1] 搖光星散而爲人參。人君廢山瀆之利則搖光不明、人參不生. TS, sect. 草木, ch. 125.

2 For more botanical particulars, see Bretschneider, Botanicon Sinicum, III, 3.

[3] 虞衡清吏司.

a herb with leaves resembling those of the bamboo. This and other names by which it is known, represent very likely different varieties of Polygonatum, growing wild both in the North and the South, and also cultivated. The root has very large joints, and its being probably a rhizoma ever growing forth, may be the basis for the reputation of the plant as a producer of immortality. On account of its being valued as such as highly almost as chi, it is often called in books hwang-chi 黃芝, yellow chi; and Su Sung [1], a learned scholar of the eleventh century, who published a renowned *T'u king pen-ts'ao* [2] or Illustrated Classical Flora, wrote therein, that "under the Sui dynasty one Mr. Yang said in his "'Method to take hwang-tsing', that this plant is the vital "soul of the chi, and is named also the remainder of the fare of "the sien" [3].

The prevalent ideas about the animation of hwang-tsing are expressed by its very name. Li Shi-chen wrote on this head: "The "sien consider this plant to be a variety of the chi, calling it "hwang-tsing (*i. e.* yellow vital energy) because it appropriates "the pure substance of the vital force of the earth"; in fact, yellow is the colour ascribed to the earth, and has, as such, the meaning of terrestrial. "It is in this sense", thus Li goes on, "that "we have to understand the *Wu fu king*, which says that hwang-"tsing appropriates the pure, genuine vital force of heaven and "earth" [4]. The origin of those conceptions about a connection of the plant with the soul of the Universe and that of the earth in particular, we find mentioned by no author. Nor do we find it explained why it passed of old for a representative of the major Yang or the sun, the warmth of Nature (comp. page 961 of Book I), which an author of the third century asserted it was. "The emperor "Hwang", thus he relates, "asked T'ien-lao: 'Are there among the "things created by heaven and earth any which, if eaten, can

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[1] 蘇頌.

[2] 圖經本草, in twenty-one books.

[3] 隋時羊公服黃精法云、黃精是芝草之精也、一名仙人餘糧. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 12, I.

[4] 仙家以爲芝草之類、以其得坤土之精粹故謂之黃精。五符經云黃精獲天地之淳精是此義也. *Ibid.*

"prevent a man from dying?' On which Tᶜien-lao replied: 'The "plant of the major Yang is the so-called hwang-tsing; by "eating it, it may tend to lengthen life. The plant of the major "Yin is called keu-wen; it is not edible, and when it enters "one's mouth, it kills him immediately. That this plant possesses "such deadly power is readily credited; but that the other confers "increase of years, they do not believe; is not this an error?" [1]. Thus, just as plants animated by the yang soul of the Universe prolong life, so, reversely, those which contain the universal yin soul possess, like the Yin itself, a life-destroying power.

Of the sien reported to have eternized their existence by swallowing hwang-tsing, we mention Luh Tᶜung, alias Ngan-yü [2], who flourished under the ruler Chao of the kingdom of Chᶜu [3], and in the time of Confucius. Accompanied by his dear wife, "he "wandered over the famous mountains, feeding on hwang-tsing "seeds, retiring finally into mount Ngo-mei in Shuh (Szĕ-chᶜwen), "where they still lived several centuries. Popular tradition considers "them to be sien" [4]. Besides this couple, we have "Wang Lieh, also "named Chᶜang-hiu, who never gave up consuming hwang-tsing "and lead, and, when three hundred and thirty-eight years old, "possessed the features of a lad and could climb mounts and walk "up steep and rugged mountain-paths, striding along as if he "were winged [5]. And Yin Kwei, also named Kung-tu, swallowed

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[1] 黃帝問天老曰、天地所生豈有食之令人不死者乎。天老曰、太陽之草名曰黃精、餌而食之可以長生、太陰之草名曰鉤吻、不可食、入口立死、人信鉤吻之殺人、不信黃精之益壽、不亦惑乎. *Poh wuh chi*, ch. 5.

[2] 陸通、按輿.

[3] 楚昭王.

[4] 游諸名山服黃精子、隱蜀峩眉山、壽數百年。俗傳以爲仙云. *Kao shi chᶜwen* 高士傳, Traditions about eminent Worthies, ascribed to Hwang-fu Mih, the statesman already mentioned a few times in Book I, who died in A.D. 282. The work contains annotations on ninety personages of olden times, sages, Taoists, hermits, immortals, etc., divided over three chapters.

[5] 王烈者、字長休、常服黃精及鉛、年三百三十八歲猶有少容、登山歷險、行步如飛. *Shen sien chᶜwen*, ch. 6.

"regularly hwang-tsing flowers, three double handfuls a day; and "he counted his age by centuries, finally departing as a sien on "mount T'ai-hwo" [1].

As of almost all strongly animated plants, medical and botanical works assert of hwang-tsing that it enables those who eat it, to live without any food, and yet to feel no hunger. Such plants do not, of course, owe this admirable property to any natural nutritiveness, but to their strong animation alone; indeed, animation means the possession of vital force, and this force, infixed in a man by his eating the plants, is powerful enough to keep him alive and satiated without food. Furthermore, the wonderful herbs render him who eats them volatile, and enable him to soar through the air. A mere wish to go somewhere suffices to send him thither, body and all, as if it consisted of soul-substance alone, his soul being so much paramount over his material substance as to reduce or annihilate his corporal weight. All the sien of the Taoist Religion possessed the twofold quality more or less complete, alongside with immortality. Such airy individuals cannot be seized or harmed by men. If they indulge in ordinary mundane food, they gradually lose their preternatural capacities, and become mortal again.

Among the plants the roots of which have engendered by their curious forms a belief in their animation, we have still to place the khi 杞 or keu-khi 枸杞, Lycium, a non-arborescent shrub. The Chinese say that its roots resemble a dog, and tales have found their way into books of their having set all the dogs in the environs barking, and being heard themselves to bark in night-veiled hills and copses. Their position in medicine is quite analogous with that of ginseng, fuh-ling and hwang-tsing. It is related that Chu Jü-tszĕ, who lived in the third century, "once saw on a bank "two flowered puppies, which, on being pursued by him, dis- "appeared immediately under the foliage of a lycium plant. He "dug it out, and found two lycium roots, shaped like the two "dogs. He cooked and ate them, and suddenly he flew up, and "perched on a hill-peak in front of him" [2].

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[1] 尹軌者、字公度、常服黃精華、日三合、計年數百歲、後到太和山中仙去也. *Op cit.*, ch. 9.

[2] 朱孺子見岸側二小花犬、乃尋逐、入枸杞叢下。掘乃得二枸杞根、形狀如花犬。煮之食之、

Exalted highly by medical authors, leeches, and apothecaries for its curative, invigorating and immortalizing power, is pʿu 蒲 or sweetflag, Acorus Calamus, also called chʿang-pʿu 菖蒲. As to the reason for its being so much esteemed, we find nothing annotated, but we may guess it. The name chʿang is homonymous with a word which means effulgent sunlight, and the written form of which is 昌, a double sun, which, moreover, enters into the composition of the name of the plant as the principal element. Thus its name itself may have caused the plant to be assimilated by popular fancy with the sun in its most powerful effect upon the world and man; thus did it cause that plant to be looked upon as a depository of the universal vivifying energy centralized in the chief luminary. In this connection, it deserves notice that one of the names given to the sweetflag by medical authors, is chʿang yang 昌陽, "resplendent Yang or sunlight". Liu Ngan already used it, writing it, however, 昌羊[1].

We read in a work of the third or the fourth century, "that "there grew in Fan-yü (Kwangtung), in a glen to the east, sweet-"flag with roots of 1,9 inch, which Ngan Khi-sheng gathered "and ate, with the effect that he departed as a sien"[2]. This man, thus wonderfully apotheosized, is stated to have lived in the time of the emperor Shi Hwang as a being a thousand years old. Another old book tries to make us believe, that when the emperor Wu (140—86 B.C.) was sojourning on mount Sung, in the present Honan province, a sien appeared to him, and told him that on a rock in the vicinity chʿang-pʿu grew, likewise with roots of 1,9 inch, advising him to eat of it, in order to prolong his life. The emperor sent his men thither to fetch that wondrous plant, and his courtiers ate of it; yet they saw their lives cut short in due course of time. "Then one Wang Hing heard of the advice "which that sien had given to the Son of Heaven. He plucked

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俄頃孺子忽飛昇在前峯上. *Suh sien chʿwen* 續仙傳, or Continuation of the Traditions about Sien; three chapters with notes on thirty-six immortals, written by Shen Fen 沈汾 or 沈玢, an official under the Tʿang dynasty.

1 *Hung lieh kiai*, chapters 17 and 20.

2 番禺東有淵、淵中生菖蒲皆一寸九節、安期生採服僊去. *Nan fang tsʿao-muh chwang*, ch. I.

"the plant and consumed it uncessantly, thus acquiring longevity" [1].

Finally, the küh 菊, a species comprising the chrysanthemum or aster, pyrethrum, daisy, marigold and other syngenesia, was placed of old among the life-conferring plants; and the *Ming i pieh luh* [2] calls it therefore fu-yen-nien 傅延年, "which gives prolongation of years". The reason may be this, that the shape of the flower reminds one of the radiant golden sun-disk, and, in fact, an old name of the plant is jeh-tsing 日精, "soul-energy of the sun". According to the *Shih i ki*, "a realm, called Pei-ming, "sent tribute in the first year of the Ti tsieh period (69 B.C.) "in the reign of the emperor Süen, consisting of local products, "among which there was (besides a long series of life-lengthening "things) red küh, which they called jeh-tsing. One stalk or "sprout of it could grow out luxuriantly enough to cover in the "end several acres of ground; its taste was sweet, and those who "ate it never felt any hunger or thirst until the end of their days" [3].

According to the *Si-king tsah ki*, it was customary at the Imperial Court during the Han dynasty, "to wear dogwood (?) on the body "on the ninth day of the ninth month, and to eat pʿeng-plant "cakes, and drink spirits of küh-flowers, all which things conferred "longevity. In the season when the küh-flowers opened, they "plucked the stalks and leaves, mixed them in millet and rice, and "fermented this; and on the ninth day of the ninth month of the "next year the brew was ready, and they drank it as küh-spirits" [4].

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[1] 王典聞仙人教武帝服菖蒲。乃採服之不息、遂得長生. *Shen sien chʿwen*, ch. 3.

[2] 名醫別錄, "Another Account of renowned Medicines", thus called from its being an extension of the Herbal of Shen Nung (see p. 300). It was written by Tʿao Hung-king 陶宏景. also named Tʿung-ming 通明, who lived A.D. 452—536. It contained seven chapters. Now, I believe, it is known merely from extracts in other works, especially in the *Pen-tsʿao kang muh*.

[3] 宣帝地節元年有背明之國來貢其方物、有紫菊、謂之日精。一莖一蔓延及數畝、味甘、食者至死不饑渴. Chapter 6.

[4] 九月九日佩茱萸、食蓬餌、飲菊華酒、令人長壽。菊華舒時并採莖葉雜黍米釀之、至來年九月九日始熟、就飲焉、謂之菊華酒. Chapter 3.

Of this bibbing-custom mention is made elsewhere in ancient literature. And Koh Hung said, "there was in Nan-yang, in the hills "of the Li district (in Honan), a sweet brook which got this taste "from sweet chrysanthemums growing at its sources, on both banks; "indeed, the flowers having dropped into it for a long series of "generations, had changed its taste. The people in the valley by "the spot where the brook entered it, had no wells, but they all "drank that sweet brook-water, so that they all reached a great age, "varying between 145 years and 80 or 90; premature death was "an unknown thing to them. They obtained these blessings from "the power of those chrysanthemums" [1].

Of the immortals of Taoism, some are reported to have acquired eternization from a use of the flowers, leaves, or stalks of küh, as *e. g.* Chu Jü-tszĕ, whom we mentioned on page 320. We read also:

"One Ts'ao Hao, also named T'ai-hü, was a Wu-lin man who "devoted all his attention both to occult matters and to those that "are clear, and was therefore called Hüen-liang, the man of darkness "and light. He was bent on planting chrysanthemums, and all "species known he had when autumn came. One day he rose early "in the morning, and saw in the core of a big yellow flower a "red seed appear, which, gradually swelling, looked like a cherry "on the third day. Nobody knew what it was. Then one Cheu "Shao-fu, a neighbour's daughter of sixteen, pretty and very decent, "came in the cool moonshine with some female companions to see "the flowers. She plucked that seed, swallowed it, and suddenly "flew away, borne by the wind. The affrighted Hao called her "family, and her parents and sisters sent up their wails and cries "to heaven. But she did not look at them, and vanished in the "blue firmament, her head disappearing first, and her legs last. "They then saw an old man before the chrysanthemums, wringing "his hands, sighing and sobbing. 'There is no luck for me', said "he, 'why do I come just too late'. They asked him what he

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[1] 南陽酈縣山中有甘谷水、所以甘者谷上左右皆生甘菊、菊花墮其中歷世彌久、故水味爲變。其臨此谷中居民皆不穿井、悉食甘谷水、食者無不老壽、高者百四十五歲、下者不失八九十、無夭年人。得此菊力也. *Pao P'oh-tszĕ*, ch. II, sect. 僊藥.

„ wanted, on which he changed immediately into an old fox, and
“ quickly decamped. Some days after, the chrysanthemums were all
“ dead, and no such flowers would grow for three years in the
“ country a hundred miles around. Not until then did it become
“ clear to Hao that that thing was what the immortals were wont
“ to call a chrysanthemum-seed” [1].

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[1] 曹昊、字太虛、武林人也、因慕淵明別字玄亮。性愛種菊、至秋無種不備。一日早起見大黃菊當心生一紅子、漸大、三日若櫻桃焉。人皆不識。有鄰女周少夫者、年十六、姿甚淑、冷月下同女伴來看覓。摘食之、食已忽乘風飛去。昊驚報其家、父母姊妹向天號哭。初不反顧、自首及足漸沒於青天之中。已而有老父至菊前、拊掌歎息。曰、我無緣哉、何至之遲也。昊方問故、忽變一老狐馳去。數日後諸菊盡死、此地方百里三年無菊。昊始悟仙家所謂菊實者卽此物也.
Lang-hüen ki; TS, sect. 草木, ch. 92.

CHAPTER XIII.

ON THE ANIMATION OF LIFELESS MATTER.

When we say, that dead animal or vegetable matter, and all matter for which there is no place within the animal and vegetable kingdom, is inanimate, we are in flagrant contradiction with Chinese conceptions. To East-Asian man, in fact, everything devoid of spontaneous movement, will or growth, is animated, if not constantly, at least occasionally.

Necessarily and directly, this conception follows from the old, classical doctrine of the general animation of the Universe. This possesses, indeed, one supreme shen or hwun, called Yang, and one vast kwei or p'oh, called Yin, together pervading it in all its parts; and there is, in consequence, no reason imaginable why what we call lifeless matter, should stand beyond the animating influence of this sovereign dual soul. Admitting the contrary would be placing that matter beyond the Cosmos, outside the pales of an animated World which has no pales.

Heaven in the first place has and is a shen, the highest, the most powerful that exists. Shen are also the sun, the moon, the stars. Creating, as they do, the celestial phenomena, thus exercising a mighty influence upon the fate of the earth and of man, those shen are his gods. For the last-named reason, one of man's chief gods is the shen pervading the Earth as a single entity; and those which dwell in its several parts, its mountains, hills, rivers, meres, rocks and stones, are likewise his divinities. Man's gods are also the shen of certain men that people the earth, especially of those that shuffled off their mortal coil, besides those dwelling in animals, in plants, and in lifeless things.

It is not, however, cosmologic psychology alone, which compels man in China to believe in the animation of lifeless things. This belief follows, rationally and logically, from that in the animation of men, animals, and plants. Indeed, a human corpse, and even dry bones — we have seen it so often — possess the animation they

possessed when the individual was alive, and the belief in their animation was always so strong that, from age to age, it could be the artery of the broad range of customs relating to burial and the grave; — and yet, what else are corpses and bones than mere lifeless objects, showing not more growth or will than a piece of wood or a stone? A similar continuity of animation is believed to exist in regard to the vegetable kingdom. Difformities of the roots of pines and firs, resin or other vegetable matter coagulating into lumps capriciously shaped — such things pass, as the preceding chapter has shown, for concentrations of the soul of the tree that produced them, even when severed from the same; and this is so, again, notwithstanding their showing no life or growth. Animated, also, boards cut from animated trees remain, as the legend of Nieh Yiu (p. 282) has shown us; we learned from it that their animation may even be so strong as to make them, when placed in the water, foretell good or bad luck by their floating or sinking. Still more wonderful signs of power and will, however, they may display. 'Whenever their owner received guests", thus we read in the same "legend, "these were conveyed on them across the water; but one day "they sank away midway in the stream, to the great consternation "of the people they bore. Yiu then bullied the boards with such "good effect that they re-appeared at the surface. In the service of "the Throne he rose to whatever dignity he coveted. So, also, he "became prefect of Tan-yang. Having been there in office for a year, "the boards suddenly followed him thither, placing themselves on "the opposite side of some rocks. His officials came to tell him "that the boards had left the stream, and lay between the stones, "on which Yiu became very dejected. 'I feel sure', said he, 'they "have some object in coming here'. So he laid down his post, to "return to his homestead; and on embarking, the door of his "cabin was no sooner shut behind him than the two boards escorted "him, floating along on either side of his vessel. Thus arriving in "Yü-chang on the same day as he, they predicted some evil by "coming to the surface and sinking away, and — he found his "family in great distress and difficulty" [1].

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[1] 每欲迎賓客常乘此板、忽於中流欲沒、客大懼。友呵之還復浮出。仕宦大如願位。至丹陽太守。在郡經年、板忽隨至石頭外。司白云濤中板入石頭來、友驚。曰、板來必有意。卽解職歸家、

If, since the early dawn of time, the East-Asian has firmly believed that dry bones of men remain animated; — if, besides, his country could produce in the tenth century a man named Hü Kien, "in "possession of arts so wonderful that, when he cast fish he had "cooked, into a pond of the T'ai-hü convent, they changed in a "moment into living fish, and swam away" [1], — then, in fact, there remains no reason why he should not believe just as firmly that wood, which likewise possessed a soul and life before, continues to be animated when reduced to stumps, logs, or boards. "The "Memoirs relating to the District of Teh-ts'ing mention a dry "cypress, standing within a sacrificial place dedicated to the Earth, "at the hill of Crows and Kites. There were there two such trees, "the one dead, the other fresh and green; and a tale averred that "the dead one was possessed by a spirit, so that it never rotted in "the long series of years that passed over it. Those who damaged "it were all struck with some disaster, and there were cases of "travellers on horseback, who, coming into collision with the spirit, "incurred death. As a consequence, people kept each other aloof "from the spot" [2]. In the Standard Histories of the Sung Dynasty we find it stated, very likely on account of some official report, "that in the summer of the first year of the Khing yuen "period (A.D. 1195), people living near a wooden pillar in Kien-"ch'ang heard this low as a cow for three days" [3]. In this story so wild, and yet recorded by Court-chroniclers with earnestness, we

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下船便閉戶、二板挾兩邊。一日卽至豫章爾後板出便反爲凶禍、家大轗軻. *Shou shen heu ki*, ch. 8.

1 許堅有異術、太虛觀有池、堅放所炙魚於池中、頃之化生魚逝去. *Shih kwoh ch'un-ts'iu* 十國春秋 or Annuary of the ten Dynasties, a rather apocryphical history of ten ephemeral realms existing between the T'ang and the Sung dynasty. The author, Wu Jen-chen 吳任臣, flourished in the latter half of the 17th. century. T S. sect. 禽虫, ch. 137.

2 德清縣志、枯柏樹在烏鳶山土祠內。木二株、一枯一茂、說者謂枯栢有神憑依、故歲久不壞。且損之者皆得禍、嘗有遊騎觸神而殞。遂相戒不至. T S, sect. 草木, ch. 204.

3 慶元元年夏建昌軍民居木柱有聲如牛鳴者、三日乃止. Ch. 65, l. 15.

discern an echo of the ancient belief in bull-shaped tree-spirits of which we spoke on page 279. Conspicuously numerous for the rest are reports, disseminated in books of all sorts, including the Standard Histories, of trees quite withered and dry, or pieces of timber used in constructions or house-furniture, suddenly reviving and producing fresh twigs and leaves; and we have no alternative but to take such stories as mere fruits of the strong belief in animation of wooden matter.

Not all dead matter is animated in an equal measure. As among plants, so among dead things a few exist, gifted by Nature with a larger and stronger quantum of shen, tsing, or ling than the rest possess. They have not escaped the keen eye of ancient wisdom, nor have sages neglected to dictate to posterity that, like strongly animated plants, it is possible to render them subservient to prolongation of man's life by curing his diseases and giving stability to his hwun and his pʿoh. They are, in the main, jade, gold, and pearls, that is to say, China's principal valuables; besides, some are mentioned, of too slight importance to engage our attention. "Gold, jade, and pearls", exclaims Koh Hung, enthusiastically, "are the tsing of Heaven and Earth; hence it is that he who "consumes them, shall terminate his existence simultaneously with "Heaven and Earth" [1]. In another writing he says: "The four "Classics of Shen Nung [2] inform us, that drugs of the very best "kind have this effect upon man, that they give quiet to his body "and lengthen his existence; they make him ascend on high to "become a celestial shen, and to roam about there, and here below, "with supremacy over the myriads of spiritual powers (ling). His "body becomes hairy, and all winged creatures come to him im- "mediately. According to that same book, the five sorts of chi "(see p. 308) may be taken with an additional dosis of cinnaber, "jade-water, double-blue, or male or female yellow, or with mother- "of-pearl, or remainders of the food of the Great One or of Yü [3]; and

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1 金玉珠者天地之精也、服之服與天地相畢. *Chen chung shu* 枕中書 or "the Book in the Pillow (?)", a treatise of some ten pages on Taoist cosmogony and on the genesis, functions etc. of chief Taoist divinities. It is ascribed to Koh Hung.

2 No doubt the *Shen Nung pen-tsʿao king* is meant; see p. 300.

3 Remains of the food of Yü, 禹餘糧, the famous founder of the Hia dynasty, also called 白餘糧 or white remains of food, are described as a white gravel resembling flour, found between rocks and stones in different parts of the

"each of them may be consumed also separately; and they all "make man move as if borne by wings, and prolong his life. "Still those writings say: Drugs of the middle quality nourish the "character; the inferior kinds remove disease, and prevent venomous "insects from increasing, and they prevent also savage brutes "from doing harm to us, and evil breath from doing their work, "warding off also all demonial influences..... The very best drug "of the sien is cinnaber, the next in quality is gold, the next is "silver, and then come the various sorts of chi, the five varieties "of jade, mother-of-pearl, shining pearls, male yellow, the remains "of the food of the Great One and of Yü"..... and so forth, several undefinable stones being enumerated, alongside with animated plants mentioned by us in the preceding chapter. "Of mother-of-pearl, five "kinds exist, which men are, however, generally unable to distin- "guish.... Genuine pearls upward of one inch in diameter may be "swallowed, and thus serve for prolongation of the existence"....[1].

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empire, or obtained from ponds and meres. Some authors write of larger lumps resembling eggs of ducks or geese, having a shell, and a blue or yellow core. The substance is much used as a medicine, in sundry forms. Chang Hwa pretended it to be the seeds of some marine plant: "On the sea a herb grows, called "shi, the seeds of which, when eaten, taste like barley. They ripen in the seventh "month. They are called spontaneous corn, or sometimes, remains of the fare of Yü" 海上有草焉、名蓾、其實食之如大麥。七月稔熟。名曰自然穀、或曰禹餘糧. *Poh wuh chi*, ch. III.

Remains of the fare of the T'ai Yih, 太乙餘糧, are a similar kind of gravel, which no author distinguishes clearly from the preceding. The T'ai Yih, the Great One or Grand First, is an ancient God of Time, of high significance in the Taoist religion, of whom we shall have much to tell later on.

[1] 神農四經曰、上藥令人身安、命延、昇爲天神、遨遊上下、使役萬靈。體生毛、羽行廚立至。又曰、五芝及餌丹砂玉札曾青雄黃雌黃雲母太乙禹餘糧、各可單服之、皆令人飛行長生。又曰、中藥養性、下藥除病、能令毒蟲不加、猛獸不犯、惡氣不行、衆妖併辟。。。僊藥之上者丹沙、次則黃金、次則白銀、次則諸芝、次則五玉、次則雲母、次則明珠、次則雄黃、次則太乙禹餘糧。。。雲母有五種、而人多不能分別也。。。眞珠徑一寸以上可服、服之可以長久. *Pao P'oh-tsze*, chapter II. sect. 僊藥.

And still more preparations of lifeless matter our occultist gives, which, says he, "when swallowed, can enable one to abstain from all cereal food, keep death aloof from him, and prolong his life" [1]; but with more of this quack-doctors' gibberish we may not tire our readers.

The belief in animation of certain parts of the mineral kingdom, and their consequent medical and life-prolonging value, thus actually keeps us within the same field of Taoism in which we moved in our disquisition concerning amorphous plant-spirits (pp. 294 *sqq.*). The subject occupied us already elsewhere. In Book I (p. 271) we stated, that for a long series of ages, peculiar animation and life-conferring capacities were attributed to jade and gold, on account of their mystic relation with heaven, which is the chief seat of the Universal S h e n, and that those capacities were availed of by wise men, not only to prolong their own lives, but also to prevent decomposition of the dead, in whose mouths they placed for the purpose jade, gold and pearls. We have also seen (p. 277) that Chinese authors dilate much on pearls and jade with light-emitting capacities, ascribing these evidently to an indwelling s h e n, or y a n g soul, identified with light and fire. And finally, we stated (p. 277) that pearls are deemed to bring back life into those who have swooned, and that they may revive the moribond.

Medical works declare jade-grease (玉脂 or 玉膏) or jade-juice (玉液) to operate very efficaciously in curing women from sterility. In fact, as those substances may instil life into such creatures, they cannot fail to intensify also their life-producing power. They lengthen, of course, the life of whomsoever takes them. They pass for mystic products of mounts which contain jade. The belief in their reality rests merely on some hazy passages, such as that from Koh Hung's writings, which we translated on page 273 of Book I. What modern apothecaries and quacks have to tell about them, we do not know. Much more in use in medical art is jade-brookwater (玉泉), that is to say, water from jade-containing rocks, especially from those forming grottos or caverns once inhabited by s i e n, on whom it conferred immortality. Being difficult to get, it is made artificially by mixing water with some jade-powder (玉屑), of which the water is drunk alone, or together with the powder, the

[1] 服之絶穀、服之則不死而長生也. *Ibid.*

potion being in the latter case called jade-broth (玉漿). It needs no saying that jade-powder enters also as principal ingredient into the composition of ointments, pills, etc., together with grease, vegetable saps, and similar substances. Various stones, distinguished by special names, the Chinese comprise under the generic term y u h 玉 or jade, but we must abstain from giving attention to them. Nor can we dilate on sundry preparations or natural transformations thereof, used in life-prolonging and medical art.

Gold, called in special Taoist terminology t'a i c h e n 太眞: "the most genuine matter", is used medically mostly as gold-dust (金屑) or gold-leaf (金薄), in ointments and mixtures. Very often also it is taken in the shape of gold-juice (金汁), which is water in which some gold trinket or gold has lain for some time, to impart its soul substance to it. Sometimes, before being used, the precious metal is refined in salted grease of a camel, donkey, or horse. Pearls seem to be used principally as pearl-powder (眞珠末). Potions of this stuff in water have a highly salutary effect upon women labouring under difficult childbirth, as they facilitate expulsion. This idea follows directly from the pre-conception that pearls are life-conferring, and that this quality may pass over into the body of those who partake of them. Therefore, as we stated on page 277 of Book I, they are also supposed to further conception, while, moreover, they bring back life into the moribond, and into those who have swooned (Book I, p. 217).

Clear reasons for pearls being considered as depositories and distributors of vital force, we have found in no book, nor have we ever received any by word of mouth from Chinese acquaintances. Perhaps the matter must be put to the account of nothing else than Koh Hung's inventive genius (p. 328 *seq*); it may be, however, we have to ascribe it to ideas about a mystic connection of pearls with the sun, the high depository and distributor of life, which dragons are so often depicted as swallowing, the circular thing these animals hold in their mouth, or seem to pursue, being generally declared by the Chinese to be a pearl (comp. Book I, pp. 53, 54, 181). Be this as it may, we must plead incompetency to solve this question.

Generally, Taoist and medical authors assert that, whosoever eats jade, gold or pearls in some form or other, does not only prolong his life, but ensures also the existence of his body after death, saving it from putrefaction. This doctrine, by its mere existence, intimates that s i e n who acquired immortality by eating such and

other substances, were conceived to continue using their body after their earthly carreer, and removed to the regions of the immortals also corporally. A new light is thus shed on the custom of ancients and moderns to keep away corruption from the dead by placing the three precious things in their mouth or in other apertures: it was an attempt to make sien of them. The corporeality of immortal Genii tallies well with the general ideas of the Chinese on the cohabitation of the soul with the body after death. We mention it here only cursorily; but we will give more attention to it somewhere afterwards, in speaking of the future life.

Not only souls of plants, but also those of lifeless things, are — unless they are thought shapeless — almost always represented as possessing a human form, or that of some animal. Metals and ores, for example, when still hidden in the ground, possess a shen thus shaped, which authors leave us at liberty to take for the mineral itself, or for a spirit dwelling in or near it, and guarding it. In the *Shuh i ki* we read, "there was in the Kwei-yang region a "silver-mine, which the workers were deepening continuously. In "the reign of the Han dynasty, a villager, named Tsiao Sien, saw "there on the road three old men, of a silvery colour all over their "body, who spoke to him: 'They are driving us out of it, and it "is getting too hot for us there; we must remove'. Perceiving they "were spooks, Tsiao Sien fell upon them with his sword; but the "three men arrested his blows with their staves, and suddenly "vanished. He then saw that their smashed staves were of silver. "From that moment the mine yielded no more silver[1]. — And on "the Tung-t'ing mounts there is a hill with an altar dedicated to "the Emperor of Heaven, as also a Gold Cow cavern. In the time "of Sun Khüen of the Wei dynasty (222—229) the people were "ordered to dig there for gold, but the gold assumed the shape "of a cow, which escaped up-hill; and from its tracks, which exist "there to this day, the cavern has its name"[2].

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[1] 桂陽郡有銀井、鑿之轉深。漢有村人焦先、於半道見三老人、徧身皓白、云、逐我太苦、今往他所。先知是怪、以刀斫之、三翁各以杖受刀、忽不見。視其斷杖是銀。其井後遂不生銀也. Second part.

[2] 洞庭山上有天帝壇山、山有金牛穴。吳孫權

"When the army-commander of Lu-cheu, Tsʿai Yen-khing, was "military governor of Ché-kao, he was seated one warm night "outside the gate of the fortress, enjoying the cool air, when "suddenly he saw on the south of the road, in a mulberry grove, "a woman in white, performing a dance quite alone. As he ap- "proached, she disappeared. Next day, towards evening, he went to "the spot a little earlier, armed with a club, and concealed him- "self between the shrubs. After a good while the woman re-appeared "and began to dance; but he knocked her down immediately with "the club, and discovered a silver cake. He dug up the soil on the "spot, and found there several thousand ounces of silver, which "made him a rich and wealthy man" [1].

From those tales some useful inferences may be drawn. The white colour of the silver-gnomes; the absence of the ore when they were gone; their transformation, on being knocked down, into precious metal — these points altogether indicate a close identity between the gnomes and the metal, or to their easy transformation into the latter, and conversely. In other words, lifeless matter may show itself as a living man or woman, and also, as the second tale intimates, as an animal; and such living beings may become dead matter shaped quite differently. Such transformations are believed in most firmly in China, and her books contain instances of them in great profusion. Thus, that which holds good of men, animals and plants, which may, as we know, change indiscriminately into each other, holds good of living and lifeless things mutually.

A small series of traditions is wanted in support of this statement. It is an old yarn that "king Hwui of the state of Tsʿin (B. C. "399—386) offered to the king of Shuh five beautiful maids. Five men, "dispatched to fetch them, saw a large snake creep into a mountain "cavern. They dragged the beast out of it, on which the mount "fell in over them; then the five maids walked up-hill and changed

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時令人掘金、金化爲牛、走上山、其跡存焉、故號爲金牛穴. The same work; first part.

[2] 盧州軍吏蔡彥卿爲柘皐鎭將、暑夜坐鎭門外納凉、忽見道南桑林中有白衣婦人獨舞。就視卽滅。明夜彥卿持杖先往伏草間。久之婦人復出而舞、卽擊之墮地、乃白金一餅。復掘地、獲銀數千兩、遂致富裕. *Ki shen luh.*

"into rocks [1]. — In the Yang-sien district, a petty mandarin, "named Wu Hoh-lung, lived on the south bank of a river. One "day ferrying over in a boat with a hollow bow, he saw a five- "coloured stone box floating. He drew it up, took it home, and "put it at the head of his couch, where, when the night came, it "changed into a girl. Towards daybreak it was again a stone, which "he threw back into the river" [2].

Much also we read of animals changed into stone. An ancient description of the Siang river countries, dating from the reign of the Tsin dynasty, relates that in south-east Hunan, "in the Ling- "ling region, stone swallows exist, which, whenever it is stormy "and rainy, fly and soar about as real swallows, to return to the "petrified state when the shower is over. They are found then "lying on the river-banks, on the sands, and at the rapids. They "look like bivalve shells, but they are not so large, and their "contents are of stone. They are said to live in mountain-caverns, "from which they fly out when it thunders and rains, then to fall "down upon the sands and change there into stone. People use "them to facilitate childbirth, to which end they let pregnant "women hold one in either hand. This expedient operates very "efficaciously" [3].

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[1] 秦惠王獻五美女於蜀王。王遣五丁迎女、乃見大虵入山穴中。五丁曳虵、山崩、五女上山遂化爲石. *Shuh i ki*, II. A somewhat different version of this story occurs in the third chapter of the *Hwa-yang kwoh chi* 華陽國志 or Memoirs concerning Hwa-yang, a dozen historical chapters by Shang Khü 常璩, also named Tao-tsiang 道將, a high officer of the fourth century. They deal especially with Shuh, the present Szĕ-ch'wen, then known as the Hwa-yang region, and with some notable and illustrious personages.

[2] 陽羨縣小吏吳合龍家在溪南。偶一日以掘頭船過水、溪內忽見一五色浮石龕。遂取歸、置於牀頭、至夜化爲一女子。至曙仍是石、後復投於本溪. *Ibid.*

[3] 零陵郡有石燕、遇風雨則飛翔如眞燕、風雨止則還爲石。江傍沙灘上有之。形似蚶而小、其實石也。或云生山洞中、因雷雨則飛出、墮于沙上而化爲石。今人以催生令產婦兩手各握一

"In Sheh-cheu (or Hih-cheu? in Nganhwui) a large brook flows "past the Red Hills. There is there a tradition abroad of a man, "who, in times of yore, made a fishing-dam straight across the "stream, so that the fish were prevented from swimming down- "ward; but then they flew straight across the range at midnight. "On this, the man set out his nets upon the ridge, to catch them. "A part of the fish flew over the nets; another part could not, and "changed into stones" [1].

"In Khien-yang (in Shensi) a temple stands, dedicated to Chang "Nü-lang. In the Shang yuen period (760—762) a young man "of the Wei tribe sojourned on the Khien-yang roadside, and "arriving at that temple, unsaddled his horse, to take rest. Suddenly "he saw on the floor a pair of slippers of braided straw, very "nicely ornamented, white in colour, and of a most excellent make. "He took them up, put them in his satchel, and departed. Arriving "in the chief city, the prefect there gave him lodgings in the "pavilion for strangers. That evening he had the slippers placed "before him, and went to sleep; but next morning they were gone, "without anybody knowing where they were. After a little time "they were discovered on the roof of the pavilion. The affrighted "servant who brought him this news, he ordered to climb the "roof, and this man placed them again before him; but next "morning they were gone again, and were found to lie on the "roof as before. As this occurred even a third time, the young "man whispered to this servant: 'Is not this a miracle? Sit up "and watch them'. And the servant watched them that night "through a crevice, thus discovering that towards midnight they "were suddenly transformed into white birds, which flew on to

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枚。甚效. *Siang chung ki* 湘中記, probably the work mentioned in the *Wen hien t'ung khao* (ch. 206, l. 2) as *Siang chung shan-shui ki* 湘中山水記, Description of Land and Water within the Siang river Countries, in three chapters, by Lo Han 羅含, also named Kiün-chang 君章, who lived under the Tsin dynasty. Ma Twan-lin states, it contains some interpolations relating to posterior times, even to the T'ang dynasty.

[1] 歙州赤嶺下有大溪。俗傳昔有人造橫溪魚梁、魚不能下、半夜飛從此嶺過。其人遂於嶺上張網以捕之。魚有越網而過者、有飛不過而變爲石者. *Sheh-cheu t'u king* 歙州圖經: the Book on Sheh-cheu, with Maps, quoted in the K K, ch. 466.

"the roof. On this, the youth ordered the slippers to be thrown "into the fire; but they flew away" [1].

Where a belief in transformations of things into living beings, and of such beings into lifeless things, is thus firmly rooted in the minds and thrives, the most impossible metamorphoses are deemed possible and generally credited; and we cannot wonder at finding foolish things on this head recorded by serious authors with the deepest earnestness. "In the Metropolis, the Buddhist monk T'ai- "khiüng was an able preacher of the Sutra of the Benevolent Ruler. "In the first year of the Khai yuen period (A.D. 713) he delivered "sermons in the village of King-yao in the Fung-hwa district, and "then put up in the convent of that place for two summers. Once "he went up to the main hall with his alms-bowl, when, at the "closed gate, something came down from the eaves. It was then "just beginning to get light, and on nearing, he could distinguish "a new-born baby in bran new swathing-clothes. Affrighted and "astonished, he put it into his sleeve, and doing his begging- "tour among the villagers over a distance of five or six miles, per- "ceived that it lost its weight. He took it out, and it was an old "rotten broom" [2].

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[1] 汧陽郡有張女郎廟。上元中有韋氏子客於汧陽途、至其廟、遂解鞍以憩。忽見廟宇中有二屐子在地上、生視之乃結草成者、文理甚細、色白而製度極妙。韋生乃收貯於橐中、既而別去。及至郡、郡守舍韋生於館亭中。是夕生以所得屐致於前而寐、明日已亡所在、莫窮其處。僅食頃乃於館亭瓦屋上得焉。僕者驚愕告於韋生、生卽命昇屋而取之、既得又致於前、明日又失其所、復於瓦屋上得之。如是者三、韋生竊謂僕曰、此其怪乎、可潛伺之。是夕其僕乃竊於隙中伺之、夜將半其屐忽化爲白鳥飛於屋上。韋生命取焚之、乃飛去. *Süen-shih chi*; K K, ch. 463.

[2] 上都僧太瓊者能講仁王經。開元初講於奉化縣京遙村、遂止村寺經兩夏。於一日持鉢將上堂、閫門之處有物墜檐前。時天纔辨色、僧就視之、乃一初生兒、其襁褓甚新。僧驚異、遂袖

"And in the Yuen hwo period (A.D. 806—821), one Cheu Yih, "a student in the Imperial Academy, devoted himself every evening "to his work. Once he saw a little spectre, with hair over two "ch'ih in length, hanging down disorderly from a head studded "all over with sparks like gleaming stars. Horrid it looked; it "played with his lamp and his ink-stone, producing incessantly a "confused hammering noise. But the student was no coward. By "bullying the spook, he made it shrink back a little; but it neared "again his writing-desk, and, to see what he was doing, stole so "near, that Cheu Yih could seize it. Sinking to the ground, it "begged for mercy in a sitting attitude, in terms of great anguish, "and by the first dawn of day the student heard a noise as if "something were breaking. Turning his eyes that way, he saw "that he had to do with an old wooden ladle, with some hundred "rice-grains sticking to it" [1].

"In the Khai ch'ing period (836—841) there lived in the Ho- "tung region an official, who regularly made nocturnal rounds to "warn the inhabitants of the streets for dangers. One serene moon- "lit night, he came to the King-fuh convent, and saw a man, "squatted down in a stooped attitude, his arms placed crosswise "over his knees. His whole body was black, and he did not stir. "The official got frightened, and shouted at the being, but it did "not look up; so he shouted again and again, tapping it at last "on its head. But then it sprang to its feet, showing a most strange "face; it was several feet in length, pale and lean, very frightful "to behold. The first thing the official did, was to tumble over "from fear; but after a while he regained sufficient strength to "get up, and saw that the apparition was gone. With increasing "fear he ran home, and related his adventure in all its details. "Afterwards, the gate of the King-fuh convent having to be renewed,

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之、將乞村人行五六里覺袖中輕。探之、乃一敝箒也. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, Supplement, ch. 2.

[1] 元和中國子監學生周乙者常夜習業。忽見一小鬼、鬅鬙頭長二尺餘、滿頭碎光如星眨眨。可惡、戲燈弄硯、紛搏不止。學生素有膽。叱之稍却、復傍書案、因伺其所爲漸逼近、乙因擒之。踞坐求哀、辭頗苦切、天將曉覺如物折聲。視之、乃敝木杓也、其上粘粟百餘粒. *Op. cit.*, ch. 1.

"they dug up the ground, and found a varnished barrel, some feet "deep, with some white clay on the top of it — the very thing "the street-officer had seen" [1].

We have also found a story of a man who, seeking joyful company with a wine-grocer, got drunk at his costs with incredible quantities of liquor, but then, unfortunately colliding with a stone, showed his real form: an old, cracked wine-jar [2]. Narratives of men who, moving about in human company, acted in every respect as men, but changed on a sudden into some object, are, in fact, numerous in Chinese literature, too numerous to be mentioned. As a rule, the thing was on such occasions wisely burned or otherwise destroyed, to cut short its re-apparitions for good. Animals, too, change from things, and return to the condition of things. "Under "the reign of the House of Sui, one Shu T'i-kia of the Hia district "in Kiang-cheu, had built a new house, and was on the point ot "removing to it, when suddenly a countless number of snakes "emerged from it, and swarmed through the gate, covering the soil "in all directions as densely as silkworms do their spinning-frame. "A traveller then spoke: 'Dissipating-charms may suppress this evil'. "He took four peach-branches, wrote spells upon them, walked "round about the house, and nailed them on the four walls, and lo, the "snakes gradually retired; the charms were taken down, and carried "behind the vermin, which then withdrew to the central part "of the hall. Here was a hole of the size of a dish. The snakes "retired into it altogether, and the wayfarer ordered a hundred "pails of hot water to be poured into it. And when the night "had passed, they turned up the ground with their hoes to a depth "of several ch'ih, and found two million brass coins, strung on

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1 開成中河東郡有吏、常中夜巡警街路。一夕天晴月朗乃至景福寺前、見一人傴而坐、交臂擁膝。身盡黑、居然不動。吏懼因叱之、其人傴而不顧、叱且久卽扑其首。忽舉、視其面貌極異、長數尺、色白而瘦、狀甚可懼。吏初驚仆於地、久之稍能起、因視之已亡見矣。吏由是懼益甚、卽馳歸、具語於人。其後因重構景福寺門發地、得一漆桶、凡深數尺、上有白泥合其首、果街吏所見. *Süen-shih chi;* K K, ch. 370.

2 *Siao siang luh*, quoted in the K K, ch. 370.

"cords. They unstrung them, and re-melted them into new money, "which made the family very rich. The snakes were the tsing of "that old brass" [1].

A conspicuous feature of the belief in changes of lifeless things into living beings, and conversely, is that they are suggested especially under the impression of some outward likeness between those things and those beings. That round-headed ladle, haunting in the shape of a child; that barrel with a clod of earth on the top, which wandered about in human forms; those strings of coins that were snakes, all alike point to this phenomenon.

We have now to say something more about it.

It is a well known characteristic of simple minds to associate, more or less intensively, representations with the beings these call to mind. The thought of a living personality, which a representation arouses, is strong enough to keep out the idea that the latter is mere lifeless matter. In particular this must be so in China, where all lifeless matter passes for animated and, besides, no established knowledge exists of law and cause, so that no distinction between possible and impossible can be made.

Thus it is, as our preceding chapter has shown, that when a Chinese sees a plant or a part of a plant, reminding him, by its shape, of a man or some animal, such as a ginseng-root, a Lycium-root, a lump of resin or fuh-ling, he is influenced immediately by an association between it and that being. This being becomes to him the soul of the plant, anthropomorphous, or shaped as a beast. That which holds good of such vegetable matter, holds good, of course, of any object indiscriminately, which reminds one by its forms of a man or an animal. It may have been a man or an animal before, or it may become one at any moment; or it contains a soul that may haunt as a man or a beast.

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[1] 隋絳州夏縣樹提家新造宅、欲移入、忽有蛇無數從室中流出門外、其稠如箔上蠶蓋地皆遍。時有行客云、解符鎮。取桃枝四枚、書符、繞宅四面釘之、蛇漸退、符亦移就之、蛇入堂中心。有一孔、大如盆口。蛇入並盡、令煎湯一百斛灌之。經宿以鍬掘之深數尺、得古銅錢二十萬貫。因陳破鑄新錢、遂巨富。蛇乃是古銅之精. *Chao yé ts'ien tsai*; K K, ch. 457.

Thus, association of images with beings actually becomes identification, both materially and psychically. An image, especially if pictorial or sculptured, and thus approaching close to the reality, is an *alter ego* of the living reality, an abode of its soul, nay, it is that reality itself. By myriads are such images made of the dead, expressly to enable mankind to keep the latter in their immediate presence, as protectors and advisers. We find them everywhere in houses and temples, where, by continuously arousing the thought of the dead, they keep alive the conviction that these are present. Such intense association is, in fact, the very backbone of China's inveterate idolatry and fetish-worship, and, accordingly, a phenomenon of paramount importance in her Religious System.

Is such association there so remarkably strong indeed? Chinese authors themselves place this beyond all doubt. They do not, in fact, dilate on the subject by special treatises, nor by categorical statements, but they tell us more than enough of it in narrations, disseminated in their writings almost at haphazard. Let us place here a few in a methodical order, and muster them.

Traditions, to the effect that rocks and stones, in which the people around imagined they saw human outlines, were sometime living human beings, exist in China, and may probably be admitted to occur everywhere between her confines. "In the Chung-"suh district", thus T'ao Ts'ien relates, "there is a Chaste Maid "gorge, westward from which a rock stands on the water-edge, "with a human shape reminding one of a girl. This is called the "Chaste Maid. Old men there know traditionally, that in the time "of the House of Ts'in, some girls were picking up oysters there, when, "in a storm of wind and rain, which darkened the day, one of "them changed into that rock" [1]. And according to Jen Fang, "there "were in the Tan-rh region, on mount Ming, two anthropomorphous "rocks, reputed to be transformations from two brothers, who, in times "of yore, went to the seashore to fish. On this account they are "named the Brothers" [2].

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[1] 中宿縣有貞女峽、峽西岸水際有石如人形、狀似女子。是曰貞女。父老相傳秦世有女數人取螺于此、遇風雨晝昏、而一女化爲此石. *Shou shen heu ki*, ch. 1.

[2] 儋耳郡明山有二石如人形、云昔有兄弟二人向海捕魚、因化爲石。因號兄弟石. *Shuh i ki*, second half.

From the belief that things formed as living beings, may be transformations from such beings, one step leads to the conviction that they may assume sometime the living state. Tales of images of men and animals having become the living beings they represent, in point of fact abound, and they show us also in all its intensity the belief in the animation of images. The huge stone tortoises, erected in China for a long series of ages in great numbers on graves and mausolea, and bearing flat stones engraved with epigraphs or biographical notices (Book I, pp. 1140 *sqq.*), seem to have played in that respect upon the imagination already in early times. "On a "sea-dam at the north-eastern hill", thus the *Shuh i ki* relates, "a "huge stone tortoise stands, which the people think to have been "made by Pan of Lu (Book I, p. 1152). When it is summer, it enters "the sea, but in winter it returns to the hill. One of Luh Ki's "poems runs: 'As the stone tortoise cherishes in its heart a love "for the sea, so I prefer dying in my old homestead' [1]. And in "the Lin-yih district, to the north, lies the tomb of Mr. Hwa. Its "inscribed stone slab has disappeared, but the tortoise forming its "pedestal has remained. When the realm of Chao existed under the "Shih family (comp. Book I, p. 612), that tortoise was in the habit "of carrying the slab every night into the water, from where it "returned at dawn, so that it always had duckweed on its back. "A man who watched it, seeing it on the point of entering the water, "shouted at it and made the animal hurry away, throwing off the "stone, which was thus smashed" [2].

"In the Yü-yao district, the seals fastened over the doors of "the Government granaries remained unbroken, and yet, on their "being opened, the contents were found damaged and considerably "diminished. Watch being then kept, it transpired that it was a "couple of stone tortoises of the mausoleum of king Hwan in the "Fuh-yang district, that preyed upon the grain. Orders were

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[1] 東北巖海畔有大石龜、俗云魯班所作。夏則入海、冬復止於山上。陸機詩云、石龜尚懷海、我寧亡故鄉. *Op. et loc. cit.*

[2] 臨邑縣北有華公墓。碑尋失、惟趺龜存焉。石趙世此龜夜常負碑入水、至曉方出、其上常有萍藻。有伺之者果見龜將入水、因叫呼龜乃走、墜折碑焉. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 10.

"given in secret to destroy the mouths of those beasts, and then "no further havoc was made in the stores" [1]. Such corn-stealing tendencies are ascribed also to stone horses. "In the village of Liu- "lin, a horse devoured the corn in the fields. The people surrounded "these, but without succeeding in catching the animal, on which "they resolved to attack it with arrows. The horse was wounded "and lost much blood, but it escaped. The crowd followed its track, "and thus they came to a stone horse on the tomb of a prince of "the Cheu dynasty, which they found bearing the traces of wounds, "so that they were convinced that the devourer of their corn was "a stone horse" [2].

Likewise, an image of a dead man may become this man himself, so completely even that he can fecundate his living widow. "In I-shui, a man of the Ma clan had married a wife, whose "surname was Wang. They lived together as harmoniously as a lute "and a harp. Ma died soon, and Wang's parents were anxious to "rob her of her widow's chastity; but she swore an oath that she "would never give herself to another. Even her mother-in-law, with "a view to her youth, advised her to re-marry, but her, too, she "refused to listen to. Then her mother spoke: 'Nice and noble, in "truth, is your resolve, but you are still too young for it. More- "over, you have not yet given birth to a son, and how often is it "seen that those who start with such rigid determinations bring "shame on themselves in the end [3]. You had better get married "the sooner the better, and thus do what is always done'. But "Wang held out firmly, and as she swore she would rather die "than consent, her mother let her have her own way.

"The wife then ordered a modeller to make a clay image of her "husband, and whenever she took a meal, she offered something to

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1 餘姚縣倉封印完全、既而開之、覺大損耗。後伺之、乃是富陽縣桓王陵上雙石龜所食。卽密令毀龜口、于是不復損耗. *I yuen*; T S, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 153.

2 柳林村有馬食人田禾。常群圍之、不可獲、後相約窘以矢。馬創血淋漓以去。衆隨蹤跡、至周皇親墓一石馬、有痕、始知食禾者爲石馬也. *Ch'ang-p'ing-chou chi* 昌平州志, Memoirs concerning the Ch'ang-p'ing Department; T S, sect. 禽虫, ch. 102.

3 Comp. Book I, page 758.

"it, as she had done when he lived. One night she was going to "bed, when suddenly she saw the clay image yawn and stretch, "and step down from the table. Horror-struck, she gazed at it with "great consternation, and saw it become as strong and tall as a "man, her goodman in his own person. In her fear she called her "mother, but the spectre stopped her, saying: 'Do not do that. I "am so much impressed by your love; and the Netherworld is so "bitter and disagreeable. One family that shows fidelity and chastity, "gives a halo of glory to several generations of its ancestry. When "my father lived, he sinned against virtue, and it was decided that "he should remain childless for that; so my life was cut short in "its very prime. But the judge in the Netherworld then thought "of your bitter life of chastity, and ordained that I should return "to you, to let you have a son for the continuation of the line of "your offspring'. Dropping tears bedewed the lapel of the woman's "dress, and she gave him the same peaceful love they had cherished "for one another before his demise; and when the cock crew, he "left the bed, and went away.

"In this way they lived upward of a month, when she felt some "life in her womb. This was a sign for the ghost to burst into "tears, and say: 'The time allowed me to spend with you is now "up; from this moment I must live separated from you for ever'; "and he broke off intercourse with her for good. The woman told "nobody anything of it; but by-and-by her abdomen distended, and "she could no longer conceal the secret. She entrusted it first to "her mother, who suspected her of telling stories; but as she "watched her daughter without finding any man concerned, she "was greatly distracted between belief and disbelief, and at a loss "how to solve the riddle. In the tenth month of pregnancy the "woman gave birth to a son, and this being rumoured abroad, caused "all who heard of it to laugh in their sleeve. As the woman had "nothing by which to explain the case, a village-elder, who had "an old grudge against Ma, informed the magistrate of the matter. "This grandee ordered the woman to be arrested; but as the neigh- "bours had nothing extraordinary to say about her, the magistrate "said: 'I have heard that children of ghosts are shadowless, and "that those that have shadows are not genuine'. So he took the "child into the sunshine, and lo, its shadow was as faint as a light "smoke. Then he pricked blood out of the finger of the infant, and "put it on the clay image, and it soaked in immediately, without "leaving a trace. They smeared also some of its blood on another

"image, but they could wipe it off at once [1]. On account of these "experiments, the magistrate believed the woman. When the child "was some years old, its mouth and nose, speech and gestures "resembled those of Ma in every respect so closely, that the last "traces of suspicion vanished" [2].

That which holds good of the carved image of a human being, holds good of his painted picture, which, too, may produce the original, as well in a material as an immaterial shape, behaving and acting as a living man or woman. "The only daughter of a "departmental Inspector of Wen-cheu never left her room until "her betrothment. A beauty with a kind character she was,

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1 Comp. Book I, pp. 1376 *sqq.*

2 沂水馬姓者娶妻王氏。琴瑟甚敦。馬早逝、王父母欲奪其志、王矢不他。姑憐其少勸之、王不聽。母曰、汝志良佳、然齒太幼、兒又無出、每見有勉强於初而貽羞於後者、固不如早嫁猶恒情也。王正容、以死自誓、母乃任之。

女命塑土肖夫像、每食酹獻如生時。一夕將寢忽見土偶人欠伸而下。駭心愕顧、卽已暴長如人、眞其夫也。女懼呼母、鬼止之曰、勿爾、感卿情好、幽壤酸辛、一門有忠貞、數世祖宗皆有榮光、吾父生有損德、應無嗣、遂至促我茂齡、冥司念爾苦節故令我歸、與汝生一子承祧緒。女亦沾襟、遂燕好如生平、雞鳴卽下榻去。

如此月餘、覺腹微動。鬼乃泣曰、限期已滿、從此永訣矣、遂絕。女初不言、既而腹漸大、不能隱陰。以告母、母疑涉妄、然窺女無他、大惑不解。十月果舉一男、向人言之、聞者罔不匿笑。女亦無以自伸、有里正故與馬有郤、告諸邑令。令拘訊、鄰人並無異言、令曰、聞鬼子無影、有影者僞也。抱兒日中、影淡淡如輕煙然。又刺兒指血傅土偶上、立入無痕。取他偶塗之、一拭便去。以此信之。長數歲口鼻言動無一不肖馬者、群疑始解. *Liao-chai chi i*, ch. 15, 土偶.

"the special darling of her parents. She fell ill and died, and they "had a portrait made of her by a painter, before which they set "out sacrificial dishes and cups on set annual occasions, taking "them away in ordinary times. On the Inspector having finished "his time of service, he forgot to take the portrait with him; and "when his successor had put up in the same mansion, the following "reflection occurred to the mind of this man's unmarried son: — "'If I may marry a wife like this one, the best desires of my life "are altogether fulfilled'. He hung the portrait in his sleeping "apartment, and one night he saw her come forth from the frame. "She approached his bedside, and talked to him with much "interest and kindness, ultimately indulging with him in the sexual "pleasures. From that time, she joined him every night, and half "a year thus passed away, during which the lad grew weak and "was much extenuated. His parents interrogated him, and advised "him to take care of himself, on which he told them the whole "truth; she was, said he, wont to come in the dark of night and "to depart at the fifth drum-watch; and she gave him from time "to time exquisite fruit to eat, steadfastly refusing, however, to "take any of the cakes and bits he offered her in return. His "parents told him to press her next time with more urgency to "eat, for, if she ate, she would not be able to get away; and the "result was, that she really ate a little, and could not retire at "daybreak. She had then become quite a human being, except that "she could not speak; and they were thereupon actually united in "marriage. The complaint of the young husband did not harm him "anymore" [1].

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[1] 温州監郡某一女及笄未出室。貌美而性慧、父母之所鍾愛者。以疾卒、命畫工寫其像、歲序張設器奠、常時則庋置之。任滿偶忘取去、新監郡復居是屋、其子未婚忽得此心竊念曰、娶妻能若是、平生之願足矣。因以懸于臥室、一夕見其下從軸中。詣榻前、敘殷勤、遂與好合。自此無夜不來、踰半載形狀羸弱。父母詰責、以實告、且云至必深夜、去以五鼓、或齎佳果啖我、我答與餅餌則堅卻不食。父母教其此番須力勸之、既而女不得辭、爲咽少許、天漸明竟不可去。宛

Where the belief in the possibility of transformation of images into living beings is so strong as the above tales show, the conviction can hardly be absent that such changes may be brought about by art. To do so, the only requirement is to arouse the indwelling soul from its inert state, which may be done by words or spells, and other expedients; or, also, the likeness to the living may be made so close as to suggest the presence of the original. A number of stories bearing on this branch of witchcraft, circulate in China by word of mouth, and a great many occur in her literature. It was already related of a sien in very old times, Koh Yiu [1] by name, "that in the days of king Ch'ing of the Cheu dynasty "(B.C. 1115—1078) he was fond of carving wooden goats and selling "them; and one fine morning, he rode on such a goat into the "Shuh region" [2]. Another wizard enriching himself by such artifices, was a fabricator of living horses, and of him the following story is told:

"A rich man in King-loh, named Wang Wu, was an inconsiderate "individual and, moreover, a wheedler, currying the favour of people "of high position and influence. Once he heard that some one had "a high-mettled steed for sale. Forthwith he sent a messenger "to that man with much money and silk, to outbid every offer, "and thus he succeeded in becoming the owner of the animal. As "he intended to present it to the General-in-Chief, Mr. Sih, he "adorned it splendidly with a gilt saddle and jade bridles, and with "pearls and kingfisher's feathers, and he was just looking round "for an opportunity to send it him, when the horse in the stable, "suddenly neighed loud, and changed into a clay model of a standing "horse. Wang Wu stood aghast, and destroyed the clay horse by "burning it" [3].

然人耳、特不得言語而已、遂眞爲夫婦。而病亦無恙矣. *Choh king luh* 輟耕錄: Record of Pauses between rural Occupations, thirty chapters of tales collected among husbandmen while resting from their labours; by T'ao Tsung-i 陶宗儀, alias Kiu-ch'ing 九成. The work was published in 1366. T S, sect. 神異, ch. 46.

[1] 葛由.

[2] 周成王時好刻木作羊賣之、一旦乘木羊入蜀中. *Sheu shen ki*; ch. I.

[3] 京洛富人王武者性苟、且能媚于豪貴。忽知

"Mr. Ts'eng Chih of San-shan had lodged in the house of the "Ch'en family seven years long, without any news from home "reaching him. One summer month he sat alone in a room, when "a Taoist from mount Wu said to him: 'You ponder so much "over your homestead, well, why do not you go there for a short "time?' 'The distance by water and land is three thousand miles', "was the reply, how long will it take me to travel so far?' On "this the Taoist cut a horse out of a sheet of paper, and ordered "him to mount it with closed eyes; then he spurted out some "water upon it, thus giving it a speed like that of the wind; and "he conjured it, saying: 'Go home now, but do not stay there "too long'. And in a moment Ts'eng Chih was at home; the door "looked as of old, and his wife told him to walk in and wash himself, "and to put on a new suit of clothes. Then he mounted the horse "again, and was off; but the steed broke its leg, and he awoke "thereby with a shudder. He then found himself back in his study, "with new-made clothes on; but the Taoist had vanished" [1].

"Lang, a Buddhist monk under the Tsin dynasty, dwelled in "the Golden Elm hills. On his death, the donkey which he had

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有人貨駿馬。遂急令人多與金帛、于衆中爭得之。王武將以獻大將軍薛公、乃廣設以金鞍玉勒、間之珠翠、方伺其便達意也、其馬忽于厩中大嘶一聲、後化爲一泥塑之馬立焉。武大驚訝、遂焚毀之. *Ta T'ang khi shi*; TS, sect. 禽虫, ch. 102.

[1] 三山曾先生陟嘗寓館於陳氏七載、音信不通。夏月獨處一室、有道人自稱吳山人謂之曰、子思鄉之切、何不少歸。陟曰、水陸三千里、幾時得到。道人剪紙爲馬、令合眼上馬、以水噀之、其疾如風、祝曰、汝歸、不可久留。須臾到家、門戶如舊、妻令入浴易新衣。陟便上馬而行、所騎馬足折驚寤。乃身在書館中、隨身衣服皆新製者、道人亦不見. *Hien ch'wang kwah i chi* 閑窗括異志 or Bundle of strange Matters from the closed Window, the work we mentioned on page 210. It is a small collection of marvellous tales, mostly from the T'ang time and that of the Five Dynasties. The author, Lu Ying-lung 魯應龍, was a native of Chehkiang, living about the middle of the thirteenth century. TS, sect. 神異, ch. 307, and sect. 禽蟲, ch. 102.

"used to ride on, ran away up-hill and was lost; but some "then saw it, and discovered that it was of metal. Thenceforth, "woodcutters every now and then heard it bray. The people in "that locality say, that if that metal ass brays once, there will "prevail general peace in this world" [1]. Twan Ch'ing-shih relates: "In the Yuen hwo period (806—821), a master of arts in Kiang-"hwai, named Wang Khiüng, visited the house of Twan Kiün-"siu. He was told to sit down, and took a roof-tile, which he "painted as a tortoise-shell, and put into his bosom. A few "moments later he drew it out of it as a real tortoise. This "animal was let loose in the courtyard, and moved about there "along the walls till the night had passed, when it became a tile "again" [2].

We have read stories of riders, asking wayside people to warm some glue for them, to mend their horses with, stating these to be of wood; which was found to be true on the glue being applied, as then the mended animals pranced off at full speed with their riders. Many tales mention persons making living butterflies, snakes, and other animals out of paper. We read also of one "Liao Kwang-t'u, an intimate comrade of a Taoist doctor named "Yin Yung-ch'ang of I-yoh, whose mother was ill and longed for "some fish-hash, which he could not provide, the stream being "tremendously swollen. In this emergency, Yung-ch'ang put his "hand into his bosom and produced a wooden otter, three inches "in size, over which he pronounced an incantation a few times, "thereupon flinging it into the river; and lo, in a moment the "waves whirled up and foamed, and the beast re-appeared with "a big fish. They made hash of it, and therewith cured the "mother" [3]. Still better known are in China the wonderful paper

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[1] 晉僧朗住金榆山。及卒所乘驢上山失之、時有人見者乃金驢矣。樵者往往聽其鳴響。土人言、金驢一鳴、天下太平. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, Supplement, ch. 8.

[2] 元和中江淮術士王瓊嘗在段君秀家。令坐、客取一瓦子畫作龜甲、懷之。一食頃取出乃一龜。放於庭中、循垣而行、經宿却成瓦子. The same work, ch. 5.

[3] 廖光圖與伊岳道士尹用昌爲林泉之交、母病思鰣、值江暴漲不可得。用昌探懷得一木獺

kites of Kien Wen, the second emperor of the Liang dynasty. "Under the reign of the emperor Wu of that House, in the third "year of the T'ai ts'ing period (549), Heu King besieged T'ai-"ch'ing so closely, that no communication could be kept up with "any place at a distance. Kien Wen then made paper kites, which "flew up into the air, to make known abroad the perils he was "in. Heu King consulted his Ministers on the matter, and Wang "Wei spoke: 'Where those paper kites come, they bring information "about him'. Orders were now given to some able archers among "the bystanders to shoot them, but, on coming down, all changed "into birds, which flew up into the clouds, leaving the men at "a loss whither they went" [1].

Works of later times, too, make mention of ingenious transformation of images into living beings. The *Tszĕ puh yü*, for instance, relates:

"Mr. Yeh Wen-lin states, that during his stay in the Metropolis "he visited a gentleman, attached to the service of one of the "Boards. No sooner had he knocked at his door than a vicious dog "with a lion's mane rushed at him, roaring and barking, as if it "were going to bite him. It filled Yeh with fright and fear, but "the houselord came out and called the dog, which crouched down "immediately, and did not stir anymore. With incessant laughter "the gentleman regarded the visitor, and on the latter asking him "what he laughed for, he replied: 'It is a wooden dog; outside it "is covered with a lion's mane, and inside it is a wooden door-bolt, "and yet the thing barks and runs'. Yeh did not believe him; on

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長三寸許、再三祝之、投於江中、須臾波浪騰沸、遂擒一巨鱗出。因取作鱠、母食而愈. *Kiu kwoh chi* 九國志 or Memoirs concerning Nine Dynasties, a history of some realms existing between the T'ang and the Sung dynasty. I have not seen this work, nor have I anywhere found particulars about it. We quote from the TS, sect. 禽虫, ch. 137.

[1] 梁武太清三年侯景圍臺城、遠不通問。簡文作紙鳶、飛空、告急於外。侯景謀臣、王偉謂景曰、此紙鳶所至則以事達外。令左右善射者射之、及墮皆化爲鳥、飛入雲中、不知所往. *Tuh i chi* 獨異志, a collection of old yarns, in three chapters, ascribed to one Li Yiu 李尤 or Li Khang 李亢 of the T'ang dynasty, of whom nothing is known. KK, ch. 463.

"which the houselord brought a cock with yellow feathers and "a red comb, which announced the dawn with stretched-out neck, "but, on its feathers being bent aside, it was seen by him to be "likewise of wood" [1].

The art of changing images into living beings may be exercised also by spirits, either for their own profit, or in behalf of men. Narratives illustrating this are far from scarce; here is one: "When "Kao Tsung (of the Sung dynasty) was still Prince of Khang, he was "in the hands of the Kin Tatars for a time, until the campaigns "of the Tsing khang period (1126) offered him a chance to "escape. Fleeing southward, he stopped, exhausted and weary, at a "temple dedicated to the Governor Tsʿui, somewhere in the district "of Fung (in northwest Kiangsu), and dreamed there of a man "urging him to flee, saying: 'Rise, rise! pursuing soldiery are nearing; "use this horse'. The prince awoke with a shudder, and found "indeed a horse at his side. In one day it carried him more than "seven hundred miles off; then having crossed the Hwai, he gave "it the whip, but it did not stir; and dismounting, he saw that "it was a clay horse. Thus he could no longer doubt it was that "god who helped him, thus effecting the continuation of the reign "of the Sung dynasty" [2].

The series of tales which make up the foregoing pages, intimate clearly enough that, to produce living beings, it is by no means necessary to have good likenesses. Indeed, even miniature semblances

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[1] 葉公文麟言、在京師到某部家。甫叩門有獅毛惡犬咆哮而出、狀若噬人者。葉大怖、主人隨出喝之、犬臥不動。主人視客笑吃吃不止、問何故、曰、此木犬也、外覆以獅毛、中設關鍵、遂能吠走。葉不信、主人更出一雞黃羽絳冠、申頸報曉、披毛視之、亦木所爲. Chapter 23.

[2] 初高宗爲康王時、質於金、靖康之亂得逸。南奔、力疲困於豐之崔府君廟中、夢有人促之、曰起起、追兵至矣、請乘馬。王驚寤、果有馬在側。馳之日行七百餘里、及渡淮鞭之不動、下視則泥馬也。方知神助、由是得以延宋祚. *Fung-hien chi* 豐縣志, Memoirs concerning the Fung District; quoted in TS, sect. 禽虫, chapter 102.

of wood, clay or paper may suffice for the purpose, and we read of wizards making everyday work, and probably a livelihood, by changing hairpins into squirming vermin and snakes, trinkets and ear-rings into living insects. As the narrative on page 345 shows, even pictorial representations might perfectly answer the purpose, however less close to materiality they approach than the worst tangible figures do; they, too, in truth, arouse thoughts of actual beings, which pass into a conviction that they are present therein, and may wander out of them. Even when reduced to smoke and ashes, painted pictures remain realities. "Han Kan", thus it is stated, "who lived under the T'ang dynasty, was an able horse-"painter. Once sitting in a dolce-far-niente, a person came to him "with a black cap and a red coat on. 'What do you come for?' "he asked. 'I am a ghostly deputy', was the answer; 'having heard "you can paint excellent horses so well, I hope you will give "me one'. And forthwith Kan painted a horse, and burned the "picture. Some days afterwards, on going out, he met with a man "who saluted him with a bow, and spoke thankfully: 'To your "kindness, Sir, I owe it that a steed has spared me the miseries "connected with travelling by land and water; here I am with "something to reward you with'. Next morning, a man presented "the painter with a hundred pieces of lustring, and it remained "unknown where he came from. Han accepted the gift, and made "free use of it" [1].

The train of thought, suggesting to the author of this tale a transformation of a painted horse into a living one, was evidently this, that the picture, being a perfect likeness, was an animated living reality, so that its soul might be set free by the process of burning, and enabled to move and run. We have, however, seen from the tale on page 345, that a picture need not be burned to make the reality pass out of it and exist as a separate entity, but that it may all the while remain quite whole and sound. Here is

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[1] 唐韓幹善畫馬。閑居之際忽有一人玄冠朱衣而至。幹問曰、何緣及此。對曰、我鬼使也、聞君善畫良馬、願賜一匹。幹立畫焚之。數日因出、有人揖而謝曰、蒙君惠駿足免爲山水跋涉之苦、亦有以酬効。明日有人送素縑百疋、不知其來。幹收而用之. *Tuh i chi*; T S, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 102.

another narrative illustrating this conception, likewise bearing upon that famous horse-painter:

"In the first year of the Kien chung period (780), a man "with a horse applied to a farrier, telling him it had a sore leg, "and that he wanted it to be cured by him for the price of twenty "hwan. The animal had a mane, colour, bones and marks such "as that horse-leech did not see every day; so he spoke with a "smile: 'Your horse, Sir, is very much like a product of Han Kan's "pencil; to be sure, of specimens like this there are none among "real horses'. He told the owner to take it once round the gate "of the market, while he would walk on behind; and while doing "this, they fell in with Han Kan. This artist too started. 'Verily', "he exclaimed, 'this is the one I painted; now I know for a "certainty that productions of my fancy may be semblances which "have mysterious duplicates'. He rubbed the horse with his hand all "over, and discovered an injury on its foreleg, as if it had stum- "bled. Then, in dumb astonishment, he went to his studio, and "contemplating a horse he had painted, found on the corre- "sponding leg a spot, forming a black defect. Thus he was convinced "that his picture was imbued thoroughly with soul-power (ling). "The money the horse-leech got for his work, passed through several "hands, and then changed into coins of clay" [1].

In this tale, the picture producing a reality remains as it is. It may occur, however, that its lines and colours disappear, and only the paper remains. "One Li Szĕ-hiun painted a fish, and had it ready, "except the water-plants around it, when a visitor knocked at the "gate. He went to see who was there, and on re-entering missed "the picture. The servant, whom he told to look for it, found "it in the pond, into which the wind had blown it. They fished

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[1] 建中初有人牽馬訪馬醫、稱馬患脚、以二十鏡求治。其馬毛色骨相馬醫未常見、笑曰、君馬大似韓幹所畫者、眞馬中固無也。因請馬主遶市門一匝、馬醫隨之、忽値韓幹。幹亦驚曰、眞是吾設色者、乃知隨意所匠必冥會所肖也。遂摩挲馬、若蹶因損前足。幹心異之、至舍視其所畫馬本脚有一點黑缺。方知是畫通靈矣。馬醫所獲錢用歷數主、乃成泥錢、*Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, Supplement, chapter 2.

"it up, and saw it had become a blank sheet; and from that moment, "the painter now and then saw in the pond a fish like that of "his picture. Once he amused himself with painting several fishes "and throwing them into the pond, and they did not disappear "therefrom before a whole day and night had elapsed" [1].

After all that this chapter has described about the animation of things, images and pictures, and their assimilation with living beings, nothing strange related in China on this head by books and word of mouth, can any longer appear strange to us. It will not astonish us to hear of lifeless things of all sorts behaving and moving as men or beasts; of tomb-stones of Yü the Great, prowling about as luminous, voracious giant-beasts, to attack men and swallow serpents [2]. Pots, pans and other things speak and chat, and make noise. Lumps of stone are kept in temples and other places as curiosities and objects of worship, for having once shown animation and life by crimpling or swelling considerably, or by decreasing or increasing in weight, or by moving about spontaneously. With special frequency mention is made of carved images shaking and trembling, moving their arms and feet, speaking and gesticulating, nay, some have grown beards, as, for instance, "an image of a "Spirit of the Ground on the mountain of Autumnal Millet, in "A.D. 1613" [3]. Not seldom images have been found sweating, not so, of course, by a condensation of vapours on their cool surface, but by the powerful exertion of strength of an indwelling soul. Still more, however, they can do: they have been taken in the very act of gambling. "In front of the Government house of Lei- "cheu — the southern peninsula of Kwangtung, north of Hainan — "twelve stone men stood arrayed on both sides, holding aloft scal- "loped banners. One night, some warriors who kept night-watch "there, heard a tumult of quarrelling gamblers. They hurried to

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1 李思訓畫一魚、甫完未施藻荇之類、有客叩門。出看、尋入失去畫魚。使僮子覓之、乃風吹入池水內。拾視之、惟空紙耳、後思訓臨池往往見一魚如所畫者。嘗戲畫數魚投池內、經日夜終不去. *Lang-hüen ki*; TS, sect. 禽蟲, ch. 137.

2 Read the first tale in the tenth chapter of the *Tszĕ puh yü*.

3 萬曆四十一年秋稷山土地神生鬚. *Shan-si t'ung chi*; TS, sect. 庶徵, ch. 162.

"the spot, and saw that it came from the stone men, who had "left on the ground several thousands of coins. Next morning they "reported the matter to the prefect, who found the treasuries locked "as before, but missed a sum of money corresponding exactly with "the amount found near the statues. The prefect then had the "images placed partly before the temple of the God of Walls and "Moats, and partly before that of the God of the Eastern Mount; "a good measure, which put an end to their haunting"[1].

All such events, which we would readily rank among marvels and miracles, do not pass in China for very marvellous or miraculous at all. In that country of idols and idolatry they were always taken for perfect possibilities and rather commonplace matters; and when special attention was bestowed on them, or report was made of them to the Imperial Court for insertion in the chronicles, thiswas usually done merely on account of their being judged to be useful material for prognostication, or because it was afterwards discovered they had foreboded something or other of importance. The belief in the animation of things, and the assimilation of representations of realities with the realities themselves and their souls, cast the fullest light on some important religious practices we have treated in our Book the First. In the first place, it accounts in every respect for the reason of being of the burning of a variety of paper and painted things, men and animals, for the dead in the other world. That such semblances are extremely rude, and often very small, shows how slight a degree of likeness suffices to suggest an animated reality. It is, furthermore, assimilation of semblances with realities, which fully justifies the Chinese when they send their dead to the tomb with paper clothes on; and when they smash and break the effects that served their deceased parents for everyday use, they undoubtedly act under the suggestion that those things are animated, and that their souls, thus set free, may depart for the spirit-world as duplicate realities. Again, it is those same phenomena which created, and maintained to this day, the custom of placing stone

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[1] 雷州治前立石人十二、執牙旗兩旁。忽一夜守宿軍丁聞人賭博爭吵聲。趨而視之、乃石人也、地上遺錢數千。次早聞於郡守、閱視庫藏銷鑰如故、而所失錢如所得之數。郡守將石人分置城隍東嶽兩廟、其怪遂止. *Tszĕ puh yü*, Supplement, ch. 4.

statues of men and animals on the tombs, giving moreover, birth to the analogous usage of burying with the dead vehicles of clay, puppets of wood, and "souls" of straw.

The conviction that those grave-puppets and straw "souls" are living beings, or may become so at any moment, comes out from certain narrations which make them appear in human shape, riding horses likewise real, but suddenly re-assuming, together with their riders, their forms of wood and straw. So, "there stood in the village "of Chun-tsʿai a Buddhist convent, named Khai-shen, which first "was the house of one Wei Ying, a citizen of the Metropolis. This "man died early, on which his wife, Liang by name, performed "no mourning-duties, but married another husband, one Hiang "Tszĕ-tsih of Ho-nei. Though pretending to be married into another "family, she in point of fact remained settled in Wei Ying's house. "No sooner had the latter heard of his wife's second marriage, than "he returned home in broad daylight, on horseback, accompanied "by several men. Before the courtyard he exclaimed: 'Liang, you "have forgotten me!' which words started Hiang Tszĕ-tsih so much "that he drew his bow and sent an arrow into the rider. The shot "dismounted him, changing him at once into a puppet of peach-"wood, his horse into a straw horse, and his followers into puppets "of rush. The wife was impressed so deeply by this adventure, that "she gave the house away, to be converted into a convent" [1].

But there is more. The above pages also shed light upon a subject to which we gave our attention already, viz. the identification of shadows with souls (pp. 83 *sqq.*); indeed, are not shadows rough pictures of the beings or things that cast them, and, in consequence, their real duplicates, their souls? It is very general for the Chinese to denote shadows and pictures by the same word, ying 影, and we saw an instance hereof in the term *siáo íng* 小影 of the Amoy vernacular, meaning the small-sized portraits

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[1] 準財里內有開善寺、京兆人韋英宅也。英早卒、其妻梁氏不治喪而嫁、更納河內人向子集爲夫。雖云改嫁、仍居英宅。英聞梁氏嫁、白日來歸、乘馬將數人。至於庭前呼曰、阿梁卿忘我也、子集驚怖、張弓射之。應箭而倒、卽變爲桃人、所騎之馬亦化爲茅馬、從者數人盡化爲蒲人。梁氏惶懼、捨宅爲寺. *Loh-yang kia-lan ki*, ch. 4.

we mentioned on page 114 of Book I. — Finally, this review of the Chinese belief in the identity of pictures or images with the beings they represent, is useful for affording us an introductory knowledge of a main branch of Chinese witchcraft, called h w a n s h u h 幻術: "magic art", or k h w a i s h u h 怪術 or i s h u h 異術: "strange art", consisting in the main in the infusion of a soul, life and activity into likenesses of beings, to thus render them fit to work in some direction desired. We learned from the quoted tales that this infusion is effected by blowing or breathing, or spurting water over the likeness; indeed, breath or k h i, or water from the mouth imbued with breath, is identic with y a n g substance or life, on which account, also, as we saw on page 217 of Book I, persons that have swooned are revived by blowing them into their nostrils. Thus rendered animate, the image is to be put in action. To this end, it is conjured with spells, which, on close examination, are generally found to be mere orders, occasionally connected with threats and bullying; but the magician may also cut, beat or prick the image, or maltreat it in any way, to bend it to his will. Thus being simply a use of the power of a spirit assimilated with an image, magic or witchcraft is Fetichism, plain and clear. It does not pass in China for hocus, but is taken as genuine ability, highly admired by all classes, in all times and ages. It may be quite harmless and innocent, as when *e. g.* the magician goes no farther than making puppets and things move and jumb, fight and collide, or when he causes stones to be flung without any visible propelling force being in play, or when he changes things into living beings, and so on. But there is other witchcraft, employing the souls of images for mischievous ends. This is plain sorcery, terribly dreaded, generally decried, and threatened by Law with heavy punishment. We will devote the third Part of this Book to it. In the last, but principal place, magic with the aid of images may be exercised for the good of man, and become highly beneficial to him. It is that which moves idols and gods to give blessings, to produce rainfall and other phenomena for man's good, to expel and disarm evil demons, and work similar wonders. In this form it is religious magic, inseparable from Fetichism and Idolatry, to which, on this account, ample attention will have to be paid in many chapters of this work.

CHAPTER XIV.

ON FOOD AND MEDICINES PREPARED FROM ANIMALS AND MEN.

The fact that, throughout all ages, the Chinese have eaten certain animated plants and minerals, to invigorate their own soul, improve their health, and increase their vitality, naturally brings the question on our lips whether there exists evidence of their having eaten also, and still continuing to eat to the same ends, flesh or other parts of animals, and even men. Indeed, men and animals, which show freedom of will and intelligence, have certainly always been considered by them to be animated more strongly than plants and motionless matter.

The natural history of mankind in general seems to forbid us to admit, that man has passed through a time in which flesh-eating was much enhanced by such motives. From times so old that only fancy can penetrate into their mysteries, primeval man certainly ate animals of all kinds without much selection or predilection, merely to satiate his hunger; and we cannot reasonably surmise that, on his emerging from his crudest state, his carnivorous tendencies, already developed to their highest pitch by customs of thousands of years, could still undergo any development by dint of philosophic reasoning. The Chinese, too, feed at the present day on quadrupeds, bipeds, and fish of all kinds, as every past generation of them learned to do from its forefathers, without even a thought of the part which the souls of the animals may play in the eating-process. Only some exceptional men and women of knowledge, and of a pensive turn of mind, realize that, by eating flesh or fish, the soul-substance of the animal passes into their body, and strengthens its vital force. In the eyes of a learned few, nutrition is eminently an animistic process, sustaining in the main the blood and the breath, that is to say, the two matters identified especially with the soul. The substantial parts of the food pass through the passages, and only its immaterial essence, its shen, khi, or tsing, remains in the body, to increase and renew its animation, while the flesh, sinews and bones of the eater are built up from the five Elements, working

on his five viscera in the sense in which they are combined therewith according to the table on page 26. The Great Plan [1], an important chapter of the *Shu king*, states on unsaid grounds, very profound and therefore highly wise, that the nature of Wood is sour, that of Metal acrid, and that of Fire, Water and Earth respectively bitter, salt and sweet [2]. The medical conclusion is, that sour things feed the liver, as this viscus is assimilated with Wood; that acrid things feed the lungs, and so on; which enables leeches to regulate methodically diet and nutrition. Be this all as it may, the nutritiveness of products from the animal and vegetable kingdom is thought to show itself from the greater or smaller degree in which they restore or strengthen (補) the soul, or its tsing or vital force, corporal health and vigour being considered to consist principally in health and vigour of the soul.

Such quasi-scientific notions dominate entirely China's medical art. All plants and animals being animated, any plant or animal that ever drew attention, received a place in the drug-shops on the commendation of some ancient or modern leech or sophist. Study of the animal and the vegetable kingdom, and also of minerals, was prompted chiefly by the art to prolong life and cure the sick; and to this day we find those branches of knowledge almost entirely confined to medicine.

Though thus there is a place in the Chinese Pharmacopaeia for every animal of whatever nature or size, a limited number only are generally acknowledged to exceed the rest in medical utility. And still among these picked few, not more than a small minority can claim our interest for the philosophical reasonings that have assigned to them a strong animation. We cannot wonder to find among them the crane, which we have met with frequently in this work as an emblem of immortality, owing to the high age it reputedly reaches. Liu Ngan wrote, "that the crane becomes a thousand years old in order to travel as far as possible" [3]. And Ts'ui Pao taught: "When "the crane is a thousand years old, it becomes blue; when it lives "then a second millennium, it becomes black, and it is then a so-"called dark-coloured crane" [4]. Its far travels, combined with its

1 Comp. Book I, p. 955.

2 That is, respectively, 酸, 辛, 苦, 鹹, 甘.

3 鶴壽千歲以極其游. *Hung lieh kiai*, ch. 17, l. 13.

4 鶴千歲則變蒼、又二千歲則變黑、所謂玄鶴也. *Ku kin chu*, II.

capacity to live long, have made it in mythology the special conveyance of the immortal sien, who are often represented as riding on it to and from their paradises, or having their cars drawn by the bird. "In one flight", thus the author of the *'Rh-ya yih* assures, "it may travel a thousand miles; and anciently it was termed the "sien-bird, on account of its reaching a higher age than any being" [1].

It is, no doubt, because of its strong animation and consequent enormous length of life, that its eggs, in which it has deposited its vitality in a form marvellously concentrated, so that quite new individuals may be born from them, play a part in the art to prolong life. Koh Hung states, "that the recipe of Khang Fung-"tszĕ consisted of eggs of goat-birds and cranes, and sparrows' blood, "all mixed with a few boxes of sap of heavenly male substance, and "made into pills. These pills he put into an egg of a kuh bird, "which he varnished and placed in mother-of-pearl water for a "hundred days, on which this water became red, and lengthened "the life of whomsoever drank a double handful of it, by ten "years, while a whole pint of it prolonged it to a thousand "years" [2]. Thus, also, the eggs of the kuh, a bird which, as we saw on page 234, is likewise a symbol of immortality, much confounded with the crane, were made use of at an early date by Taoists in seeking immortality; but its blood, the seat of its soul, served them likewise to increase their soul-substance or breath. We may infer this from a curious little work, known as *Muh t'ien-tszĕ ch'wen* [3] or "Traditions about the Emperor Muh", which existed in the reign of the Tsin dynasty, and reputedly belongs to the find of books in the grave in Kih, of which we spoke on page 416 of Book I. Describing the travels and adventures of Muh of the Cheu dynasty, who is believed to have reigned from 1001 to 946 B.C., especially his journey to the West to visit Si Wang-mu, the Queen of Immortals (s. page 304), it states, that "on arriving "among the Kü-sheu people, a slave of somebody offered him the blood

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[1] 鶴一起千里、古謂之仙禽以其於物爲壽.

[2] 康風子丹法用羊鳥鶴卵雀血、合少室天雄汁和丸。內鵠卵中、漆之、內雲母水中、百日化爲赤水、服一合輒益壽十歲、服一升千歲也. *Pao P'oh-tszĕ*, ch. 1, § 金丹.

[3] 穆天子傳.

"of a white kuh to drink", such blood, as Koh Hung remarks in his commentary on that old writing, "being drunk to increase the vigour of the human breath" [1]. And pursuing his journey southward, "he galopped at full speed a thousand miles, and entered "Tsung-cheu, where the officials brought kuh-blood for him to "drink and to wash his feet with, while Tsao-fu (his coachman) "prepared goat's blood for his team of four" [2].

A similar position in nutrition, life-prolonging art and therapeutics, is held by the eggs, flesh and blood of the common house-fowl. It is an adage that its flesh "increases the power of the breath" [3] or the yang soul, for the cock is full of yang substance or vitality on account of its being an emblem of the sun, the chief agent of the Yang. We stated this fact already on page 200 of Book I, annotating there also, that the Chinese use cocks to strengthen the souls of the dead on their way to the grave. Further we described (page 204 *seq.*) how, in compliance with the same train of thought, soul-tablets of the dead are given animation to at burials by marking them with some blood from the crest of a cock, this excrescence (p. 217) being looked upon as the focus of the yang substance laid down in the bird, whereas it is the fiery or bloody part of the main part of its body. Li Shi-chen wrote: "Use crest-blood of cocks "that are three years old, for then you have the superabundance "of its yang breath" [4]. Finally we have annotated (p. 217), that new life is instilled into persons lying in a swoon, or when moribund, by means of the blood from a cock's caruncle. After all this, it becomes almost a matter of course to find, so to speak, every part of the bird used for medication, as its flesh and bones, viscera and intestines, its head, brains, blood and excrements. Distinctions are made between such ingredients from a brown, a white or a black bird, and from a cock or a hen; they operate also differently upon men, women, and children.

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1 至于巨蒐之人[illegible]奴乃獻白鵠之血以飲天子。所以飲血益人氣力. Chapter 4.

2 馳驅千里、遂入于宗周、官人進白鵠之血以飲天子、以洗天子之足、造父乃具羊之血以飲四馬之乘一. *Ibid.*

3 益氣力.

4 雞冠血用三年老雄者、取其陽氣充溢也. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 48.

Fowls' eggs, too, even to their hard shell and the subjacent pellicle, perform a part in medical practice and life-prolonging art. They do not only pass for deposits of the life or soul-substance of the bird, but philosophical reasoning has made of them miniature representations of the Universe, as the yolk with the embryo reminds us of the yellow genial earth, and the bluish white with the scale resemble the atmosphere with the firmament enveloping that productive power. "The white of an egg", says Li Szĕ-chen, repre- "sents the sky; hence its influence is pure, and its nature slightly "cool. And the yolk represents the earth, so that its influence is "turbid, and its nature warm. Thus, when the white and the "yellow parts of an egg are used conjointly, its operation is quieting. "Should a man not possess vital force (tsing) enough, he may "increase it by means of the influence of an egg; the white parts "will then purify his vital breath and (by its coolness) cure "inflammation of his eyes, red and sore throat, and other such "complaints. And if he is in lack of corporal matter, he may "supply it by the taste (nutritive quality?) of eggs, as their yolk "restores the blood and cures diarrhaea, as also diseases of pregnancy "and those connected with childbirth. It is because eggs regulate "both the breath and the blood, that they cure the diseases summed "up above" [1].

The list of complaints cured by eggs, is still considerably longer, too long for us to review. Probably it is the considerations set forth above, which also induced the ancient Chinese to swallow a fowl's egg on New-year's day, thus imbuing themselves for a whole year with the enlivening soul-substance of Heaven and Earth. We are indebted for the knowledge of this custom to an interesting little "Calendar of Annual Usages in King and Ch'u": *King Ch'u sui-shi ki* [2], two regions corresponding somewhat with the present provinces of Hupeh and Hunan; the man said to have

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1 卵白象天、其氣清、其性微寒。卵黃象地、其氣渾、其性温。卵則兼黃白而用之、其性平。精不足者補之以氣、故卵白能清氣、治伏熱目赤咽痛諸疾。形不足者補之以味、故卵黃能補血、治下痢、胎產諸疾。卵則兼理氣血、故治上列諸疾也. *Ibid.*

2 荆楚歲時記.

written it, is one Tsung Lin [1], a high dignitary flourishing in the middle part of the sixth century. "On the first day of the first month", it says, "everybody, young or old, ate a hen's egg" [2]; but, unfortunately, nothing is added, neither by the author, nor by the commentators, about the why and wherefore of this custom, so that we have only our own theory to account for it.

The tortoise growing slowly, and reaching very large dimensions, it cannot but have made the Chinese believe it to be very longevous "When it has lived three hundred years", says Wang Ch'ung, "it is not bigger than a coin, and may still walk on a lotus leaf; "when three thousand years old, its colour is blue with green rims, "and it is then only one ch'ih two ts'un in size" [3]. And Jen Fang stated: "A millennial tortoise becomes hairy. When it has "lived five thousand years, it is called a tortoise possessed of shen, "and when it is double that age, it is a tortoise with soul-power "(ling)" [4]. These two denominations being used throughout literature to denote the animal, they attest clearly how generally and closely the idea of animation is connected with old tortoises. No wonder that the medicaments in which ingredients from the animal are the principal components, are at least as numerous as those prepared from hens and cocks, and that the number of diseases they cure, is certainly not smaller. Especially turtles are in high demand. Ashes of their carapace are deemed of great efficacy, and roundly declared to form "sien-making recipes" if scorched off from living tortoises, that is to say, which are in full possession of their soul. Koh Hung wrote: "Among millennial tortoises which "possess soul-power, the five colours are represented altogether, and "the males have over their forehead two bones protruding like "horns. If a goat's blood is poured out over such a tortoise, and the "carapace is thereupon cut off, burned and triturated, then one "spoonful of a square inch, taken three times a day until the "whole carapace is consumed, confers longevity for a thousand

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1 宗懍.

2 正月一日長幼各進一雞子.

3 龜生三百歲大如錢、游於蓮葉之上、三千歲青邊緑、巨尺二寸. *Lun heng*, ch. 14, sect. 狀留.

4 龜千年生毛。龜壽五千年謂之神龜、萬年曰靈龜. *Shuh i ki*, I.

"years" [1]. And T'ao Hung-king declares "that tortoise-soup and turtle-"soup render the lean corpulent, are highly invigorating, and increase "the shen" [2].

Animals possessed of an extraordinary amount of vitality may be made in China artificially. Jen Fang gives us a curious recipe for that: "Take a still unfeathered young bird, and give it a mixture "of red cinnaber with beef to swallow, so that its wings and "feathers are red when it is grown; then kill it, dry it in a shady "place, powder and consume it; you will then live five hundred "years" [3]. The great difficulty here will be to make the poor thing hold out long enough on such curious fare.

The list of animals used medically on account of their strong animation, is herewith exhausted. Its shortness is concordant with the fact, that there is scarcely anything on record of old or modern sien having eternized themselves by zoophagy. Much more therapeutic use was, however, always made in China of parts of the human body; and this fact undoubtedly suggests the prevalence of the idea that the soul-substance, contained in a man, strengthens that of the person who eats him.

But, cannibalism has widely prevailed there for still other motives, which, to place its animistic side in a correct light, we must also devote some attention to. They deserve our interest especially for the fact, that hardly anything has as yet been brought to light about East-Asian man-eating but some scanty hearsay evidence, and random statements of residents and travellers [4], without the subject having ever been studied from the native sources.

One chief inducement to cannibalism we may leave untouched,

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1 千歲靈龜五色具焉、其雄額上兩骨起似角。以羊血浴之、乃剔取其甲、火炙擣、服方寸匕日三、盡一具、壽千歲. *Pao P'oh-tsze*, ch. 2, 仙藥.

2 龜鼈肉作羹、瘠大補而多神. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 45.

3 取鳥之未生毛者、以丹和牛肉使吞、至長羽毛皆赤、殺之、陰乾、杵服、壽五百歲. *Shuh i ki*; TS, sect. 禽虫, ch. 4.

4 In a special elaborate study of Anthropophagy (Leipzig, 1887) Richard Andree had no more information about China to give than eight lines! And Yule, in the Book of Ser Marco Polo (I, p. 275) had to state the prevalence of cannibalism in China from Arab travellers of the ninth century, and from one or two semi-reliable reports of eye-witnesses.

viz. starvation. Over and over again we find in Chinese books mention of dearths and famines harassing various parts of the realm as recurrent scourges; and often the statement is adjoined that the starved devoured each other. Likewise we may discard cannibalism based on certain superstitious grounds which it is not well possible to sound, such as that it confers invisibility. We read, for example, that when Li Kwoh, a high grandee in the ninth century, "resided in Yung-cheu (as Governor), he captured seven "Bright Light banditti, who, whenever they murdered, ate the flesh "of their victims. When their sentence was pronounced, Kwoh asked "them for the reasons of their cannibalism; on which their head-man "said: 'I was informed by a famous bandit that those who have "eaten human flesh become invisible on entering human dwellings in "the night, and so, as suppressive measures are taken sometimes "(by the inmates) against untoward events, we could not do without "eating such flesh" [1].

Cannibalism has prevailed in China from time immemorial. We saw on page 679 of Book I that Mih-tszĕ knew of its existence there, as the realm of Khai-muh, where first-born sons were devoured, may have been situated within her present confines. To Hwan, who ruled over the kingdom of Ts'i from 683 to 641 before our era, strong anthropophagous tendencies are imputed. "Leaning against a "column, he sighed, and spoke: 'There are extraordinarily precious "dainties in this world, easy to get; but human flesh I have not "yet eaten'. On this, Yih-ya went home, cut off the hands of his "son, and gave them his royal lord to eat" [2]. Chinese sources give

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[1] 李廓在潁州獲光火賊七人、前後殺人必食其肉。獄具、廓問食人之故、其首言、某受教於巨盜食人肉者夜入人家必昏沉、或有覺不悞者故不得不食. *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 9.

[2] 齊桓公倚柱歎曰、天下奇珍易得、但未得食人肉耳。易牙歸、斷其兒手、以啖于君也. *Pan Ku yiu t'ung fu chu* 班固幽通賦注: "Commentatory on Pan Ku's Yiu-t'ung Poem", quoted in the TS, sect. 人事, ch. 18. I have not seen this document, which is stated to have been composed by the famous author of the Books of the Early Han Dynasty, in the prime of his life. Two commentaries in one chapter existed under the T'ang dynasty, written respectively by one Ts'ao Ta-kia 曹大家 and one Hang Tai 項岱; see the New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 60, l. 21.

positive historical evidence of cannibalism among the Lao or Liao (see page 267), who once constituted a large portion of the aboriginal population of the southerly and middle provinces. We find, indeed, in the Books of the Wei Dynasty, that "when those people fought their feuds, they were sure to devour the slain" [1]. The southern border-countries, too, were in the early years of our era inhabited by cannibals, for we read in the Books of the Later Han Dynasty: "To the west of Kiao-chi (Tongking) there was a realm of man-"eaters, where the first-born son was, as a rule, chopped into pieces "and eaten, and his younger brothers were nevertheless regarded "to have fulfilled their fraternal duties towards him. And if he "proved to be appetizing food, they sent some of his flesh to their "chieftains, who, exhilirated, gave the father a reward. Those people "are the actual inhabitants of Wu-fu" [2]. In his standard commentary upon those Books, prince Hien of Chang-hwai [3], heir-apparent of Kao Tsung of the T'ang dynasty, annotates, that "according to Wan "Chen's Record of Curious Beings and Things in the South, Wu-fu "was the name of a country south of Kwang-cheu and north of "Kiao-chi. People often go out there to waylay travellers, upon whom "they rush out to attack. If they succeed in catching one, they "devour him, not so much because they covet his money and mer-"chandise, as because they consider his flesh a delicacy. They also "take the skull, which they split, in order to drink spirits out of "it; and the palms and soles of the feet they consider to be extra-"ordinarily toothsome, therefore giving them their old people to eat" [4].

Unhesitatingly we may infer from those extracts, that one of the motives of man-eating in East-Asia was gastronomy pure and simple,

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[1] 若報怨相攻擊、必殺而食之. Ch. 101, l. 24.

[2] 交阯西有噉人國、生首子輒解而食之、謂之宜弟。味旨則以遺其君、君喜而賞其父。今烏滸人是也. Books of the Later Han Dynasty, ch. 116, l. 5.

[3] 章懷賢王.

[4] 萬震南州異物志曰、烏滸地名也、在廣州之南、交州之北。恒出道間伺候行旅、輒出擊之。利得人食之、不貪其財貨、並以其肉爲肴菹。又取其髑髏破之、以飲酒、以人掌跋爲珍異、以食老也. The Khienlung edition of the same work, *loc cit.*

human flesh being enjoyed for its taste. Quite at a loss, however, we are how to explain that eating of first-born sons by their own nearest kinsfolk, absolutely inconsistent as it is with a primary law of tribal life in general, which imperiously demands that the tribe should make itself strong in male cognates, but not indulge in self-destruction by killing its natural defenders. We feel therefore strongly inclined to believe the statement fabulous. We can also only guess at the motives of many cases of cannibalism, mentioned so dryly in Chinese books without even the slightest explicative details, that it is quite useless to reproduce them here. Only the following one we give, on account of the curious sophistic reasoning it gave rise to. "Under the emperor Ling, it occurred in the spring of the third "year of the Kien ning period (A.D. 170), that a woman in "Ho-nei devoured her husband, and a man in Honan his wife" [1]. Yü Pao, reproducing this statement from the Books of the Later Han Dynasty, adds: "Man and wife represent the deepest love "between the two Regulators Yin and Yang, and still the one "devoured the other; would not this encroachment of the Regulators "upon one another have signified explicitly some calamity of the "sun and the moon? In truth, on the death of the Emperor Ling, "a great insurrection broke out over his whole realm. Rulers then "indulged in the atrocities of reckless homicide; their subjects rose to "rob and to kill; their soldiery destroyed one another; people of "the same bones and flesh were at constant feud; in a word, the "misfortunes of the people were at their height" [2].

Not unfrequently we find it mentioned in Chinese books of every age as a quite commonplace matter, that in time of rebellion and warfare soldiery ate the slain; but we are always left to ourselves to guess whether it were hunger, gastronomy or passion that prompted them. Cannibalism on account of the savoury taste of human flesh appears in the following tradition: "The grave of "Chang Hiao and Chang Li is in the north-west of the Ch'ang-"p'ing department (north of Peking). Under the reign of the Later

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1 靈帝建寧三年春河內婦食夫、河南夫食婦. The same work, ch. 27, l. 4.

2 夫婦陰陽二儀有情之深者也、今反相食、陰陽相侵豈特日月之眚哉。靈帝既沒、天下大亂。君有妄誅之暴、臣有刼弑之逆、兵革相殘、骨肉爲讐、生民之禍極矣. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 6.

"Han dynasty, it came to pass that those brothers, wandering "about that spot, came across a gang of robbers, who wanted to "kill and eat them. The elder then said: 'My brother is leaner "than I'; but the other retorted: 'No, he is leaner', and so, each "of them trying to put himself in the place of the other, they were "both killed. Those who heard of the event trumpeted out their "praise, and buried their remains. Their epitaph carved in stone "still exists there" [1].

Lunacy evinced by bloodthirstiness and a craving for biting, lacerating and eating human flesh, has prevailed probably in all times and among all peoples on the earth, accounting much for murder connected with beastly atrocity. China evidently makes no exception here, as the following extract from her Code of Laws may show:

"In the sixteenth year of the Kia khing period (1811) an "Imperial edict was issued, stating that Ts'ien Khiai had requested "the Throne to give decision in the case of Chang Liang-pih, "convicted of having taken life out of somebody, and of homicide, "proposing in a separate memorial, that the prefect of the district and "that of the department, having taken no judicial measures against "his crime, should be dismissed, and their conduct severely examined "anew. He states the case to be as follows: — Chang Liang-"pih sucked out marrow from infant girls, sixteen in all, eleven "of whom died from the consequences, and one was altogether "crippled; these crimes constituted decidedly the worst kind of all "homocide, committed by a being in human shape, with the "character of a beast .... He who murders more than three "members of one family, is to be put to death by the lingering "process of the knives; would therefore a criminal such as this, "murderer of more than ten infants, expiate his crime by mere loss "of his head by the sword? It is just and equitable that this Chang "Liang-pih should die by the lingering process. He is seventy "years old; if disease takes him off, or fear of the punishment "that awaits him makes him put an end to himself, he will

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[1] 張孝張禮墓在昌平州西北。後漢時兄弟流移、至此遇盜、欲殺而食之。兄曰、弟瘦、我肥、弟曰、兄瘦、我肥、相讓就死。聞者歎美之、因收葬焉。碑文尚存. *Ki-fu t'ung chi* 畿輔通志 or General Memoirs concerning the Imperial Demesnes; sect. on the Shun-t'ien department. T S, sect. 坤輿, ch. 134.

"unfortunately escape laceration in public. Therefore an edict ought "to be promulgated four hundred miles round, to the effect that, "as soon as our resolve reaches Ts'ien Khiai, he shall forthwith have "that criminal executed by the slow process, thus giving satisfaction "to the law and warning to the people. Further, we ordain that "all the relations of those sixteen victims shall stand round the "place of execution as witnesses, in order to rejoice the hearts of "men and allay the exasperation of the public; and the possessions "of his family shall be registered and confiscated, and divided "before the magistracy among the members of the sixteen injured "families" [1].

In the Code of the Yuen dynasty an article occurred, to the effect that "dismembering a man and cooking him for food was "to be pronounced a crime against nature, even if perpetrated from "starvation. In either case, money to defray the cremation or the "burial of the victim had to be exacted (from the perpetrator), "and to be given to the injured party" [2].

Especially numerous are the recorded instances of cannibalism out of savagery aroused by carnage or exasperation. We find them in the books of all times and ages. Wang Ch'ung already wrote in a demonstration that the dead do not harm the living, "that those

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[1] 嘉慶十六年奉上諭錢楷奏審擬張良璧採生斃命一案、並請將不爲究辦之知縣知府革職、再行嚴審、各一摺。此案張良璧舐吸嬰女精髓、前後共十六人、致斃女孩十一人、成癈一人、實屬窮兇極惡、人形獸性。。。殺死一家三人以上卽應凌遲處死、該犯殘斃嬰孩十餘命豈斬決所能蔽辜。張良璧一犯着卽凌遲處死。該犯年已七旬、設因病致斃、或畏罪自滅、豈不倖逃顯戮。着由四百里傳諭、錢楷接奉此旨、卽先將該犯凌遲正法示衆。傅齊十六家親丁環視、以快人心而抒衆憤、所有張良璧家產並着抄沒、傅集被害十六家親屬、當官分給. *Ta Ts'ing luh li*, ch. 26, 人命; title 採生折割人, the commentary.

[2] 諸支解人煮以爲食者、以不道論、雖瘦死。仍徵燒埋銀、給苦主. History of the Yuen Dynasty, ch. 104, l. 7.

"who devoured one another in times of devastation and rebellion, might "be reasonably supposed capable of harming the living, if their souls "had knowledge" [1]. During the bloody turmoil among the Imperial Sung family, of which we spoke on page 1408 of Book I, one of the victims was the grandee "Chang Ch'ao-chi, whom the rebellious "soldiery slew. His bowels they ripped up, his heart they cut into "pieces, his flesh they chopped and sliced, and the commanders "devoured it raw, the head and the skeleton being thereupon "thrown into the flames [2]. — In the Khien fu period (874—880), "Li T'ing-tsieh was commander of the city of Kiah, when Wang "Sien-chi attacked Jü-cheu. T'ing-tsieh fell into his power, and "the rebel, seeing what a beauty Ts'ui (his wife) was, wanted to "marry her; but she said, scornfully: 'I am an officer's wife, and "as such I bear, even in death, a title of honour conferred on "me by the Emperor; how then can I accept defilement from an "insurgent?!' On these words the rebel flew into a passion, ripped "up her heart, and devoured it" [3].

Wrath and bitter resentment may even lead to deliberate necrophagy. "Wang Pan, also named King-yen, on hearing that his "father had been put to death by the emperor Wu of the Ch'en "dynasty (557—560), burst into piteous wailing and fainted away. "After some time he revived, and then there was no end to his "wailing, and he grew so thin, that his bones protruded from his "skin. And when the mourning-period had elapsed, he continued "wearing linen, eating mere potherbs, and sleeping on a straw mat. "The emperor Ming of the Cheu dynasty admired his conduct so "much, that he called him to Court and conferred on him the dignity "of commander of his right flank troops, giving him repeatedly "the administration of the Han-chung region.

"When the Ch'en dynasty had been overthrown (589), Pan secretly

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[1] 敗亂之時人相啖食者、使其神有知、宜能害人. *Lun heng*, ch. 20, 論死.

[2] 張超之爲亂兵所殺。割腸刳心、臠剖其肉、諸將生噉之、焚其頭骨. Books of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 99, l. 18; also the Histories of the South, ch. 14, l. 11.

[3] 乾符中李廷節爲郯城尉、王仙芝攻汝州、廷節被執、賊見崔妹美、將妻之、詬曰、我士人妻、死亡有命、奈何受賊汙。賊怒、刳其心食之. New Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 205, l. 13.

"convoked around him more than a thousand warriors of his "father's time, placed himself before them, and burst into tears. "One of the warriors said: 'The dishonour inflicted upon you, "my lord, is blotted out already, and yet your sorrow does not "subside; is this because Pa-sien (*i. e.* the emperor Wu) has "died too soon for you to put him to the sword with your own "hands? If so, I propose to dig up his grave-mound, to smash his "coffin, and burn his bones; in this way, too, you can show "filial feelings'. Pan thanked the speaker reiteratedly for this speech "by bumping his head against the ground with so much vehemence "that blood gushed out. 'But the mausoleum they have made for "him, is so large', he answered; 'one night's digging will not suffice "to get at the corpse, and daybreak will betray the matter'. But "the men asked his permission to get hoes and spades; and they "dug up the mound that night, split up the coffin, and saw that "the emperor's beard had not at all fallen out, but that its roots "were still growing from the bone. Pan now burned his remains. "He mixed the ashes with water and drank them up, and with "a rope round his limbs offered himself up for punishment to "the prince of Tsin. This grandee referred the case to the Throne, "on which the emperor Wen (of the Sui dynasty) spoke: 'It was "Our duty to overthrow the Ch'en dynasty, and Wang Pan's deed "is in keeping with the duties of filial conduct; how then can I "find it in my heart to punish him for it'. He was set free, and "no further investigation was made" [1].

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[1] 王頒、字景彥、聞其父爲陳武帝所殺、號慟而絶。食頃乃蘇、哭不絶聲、毀瘠骨立。至服闋常布衣蔬食、藉藁而臥。周明帝嘉之、召授右侍上士、累遷漢中太守。

及陳滅、頒密召父在時士卒、得千餘人、對之涕泣。其間壯士或問曰、郎君雠恥已雪、而悲哀不止者、將不爲霸先早死不得手刃之耶、請發其丘隴、斲棺、焚骨、亦可申孝心矣。頒頓顙陳謝、額盡流血。答曰、其爲墳塋甚大、恐一宵發掘不及其屍、更至明朝事乃彰露。諸人請具鍬鍤、於是夜發其陵剖棺、見陳武帝鬚皆不落、其本皆出自骨中。頒遂焚骨。取灰投水飲之、既

Heu King (see p. 349), the famous rebel who brought the Liang dynasty to the verge of ruin, was devoured by the mob as a retaliation for the evil he had done. Being defeated in A.D. 552, captured, "and put to death, Wang Seng-pien cut off his hands "and sent them to Wen Suen, the emperor of the House of Ts'i; "his head he forwarded to Kiang-ling, and stuffing his body with "five pecks of salt, he sent it to Kien-khang (Nanking). There it "was exposed in the market, where the populace vied with one another "in cutting pieces from it, which they cooked and ate to the very "last. The lord of Lih-yang was devoured before him on the same "occasion. They then burned the skeletons and dispersed the ashes "to the winds; and those who had suffered from the evil they had "caused, mixed some of the ashes in spirits and drank them. On "the arrival of the head in Kiang-ling, the emperor Yuen ordained "that it should be exposed publicly in the market-place for three "days, after which he had it boiled clean and varnished, and "deposited in the military arsenal" [1].

Thus devouring in common hated tyrants, oppressors or insurgents, seems to have been rather in vogue in those times, whereas the historiographer, from whom we have the above episode, states "that it was customary for those acquainted with Heu King, to "say of him: His voice is like a wolf's, and therefore he devours "men; but he himself shall be devoured by them" [2]. Still, cannibalism in times of carnage must have had other grounds besides mere savagery, seeing that special parts of the slain were selected

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而自縛歸罪晉王。表其狀、文帝曰、朕以義平陳、王頒所爲亦孝義之道、何忍罪之。舍而不問. History of the North, ch. 84, ll. 9 *seq.* Also in the Books of the Sui Dynasty, ch. 72, l. 5.

[1] 及景死王僧辯截其二手、送齊文宣、傳首江陵、果以鹽五斗置腹中、送于建康。暴之于市、百姓爭取屠膾羹食、皆盡。拜溧陽主亦預食例景。焚骨揚灰、曾罹其禍者乃以灰和酒飲之。首至江陵、元帝命梟於市三日、然後煮而漆之、以付武庫. History of the South, ch. 80, l. 26. Books of the Liang Dynasty, ch. 56, l. 29.

[2] 識者曰、此謂豺狼之聲、古能食人、亦當爲人所食. History of the South, ch. 80, l. 24.

for eating, which unmistakably points to certain reasonings exercising an influence here. The liver was preferred to all other parts. This was already the case in the days of Chwang-tszĕ, who wrote in a vivid description "of a visit paid by Confucius to a certain robber "Chih, that the latter was then just giving some rest to his followers "somewhere on the south of mount T'ai, and minced human "livers, which he gave them to eat" [1]. And soundly scolding the sage as a deluder, a twattler, an idler, who did nothing but mislead rulers and scholars and curry their favour, the robber advised him "to run home as quickly as possible, or else he would "take his liver out of him and add it to the meat of their food "for that day" [2].

"When Ts'iao Teng was in charge of the government of Yin-"p'ing (the present Szĕ-ch'wen), his commandery was occupied by "insurgents of the faction of Li T'eh (about A.D. 302). On this "occasion, his father was put to death by Ma Wan, governor ot "Pa-si for Li Hiung (Li T'eh's son). Teng then assembled around "him two thousand stray soldiers of the Pa and the Shuh region, "beheaded Ma Wan, and devoured his liver [3]. — Ma Khüen's "elder brother, a military chief in Liang (the present Kansuh), "was killed by Khi-mu Hü, on which Khüen slew the latter, and "ate his liver" [4]. About the year 396 of our era, a high dignitary of the Tsin dynasty, named Sié Yen [5], was retreating before a hostile force, "when the commander-in-chief Chang Mung, belonging "to his private staff, gave a blow with his sword to the hind parts

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1 往見盜跖、盜跖乃方休卒徒太山之陽、膾人肝而餔之. *Nan hwa chen king*, IX, § 29.

2 疾走歸、不然我將以子肝益晝餔之膳. *Ibid.*

3 譙登領陰平太守、以李特作亂本郡沒寇。父爲李雄巴西太守馬脫所殺。登募巴蜀流士得二千人、斬脫、食其肝. *Si-ch'wen heu hien luh* 西川後賢志, "Memoirs concerning later Sages in Si-ch'wen", in Szĕ-ch'wen province; quoted in T S, sect. 人事, ch. 21.

4 馬權兄爲凉將、慕母詡所殺、權後殺詡、食其肝. *Poh-liang luh* 北凉錄 or Records of North Liang; quoted in T S, sect. 人事, ch. 21.

5 謝琰.

"of his horse, thus bringing him to the ground. He was then "killed, along with his two sons, Chao and Siün. Afterwards, at "Liu Yü's victory at Tso-li, Chang Mung was caught alive and "delivered up to Kwun, Sié Yen's youngest son, who cut out his "liver, and ate it raw" [1].

But how to explain this preference for the liver to other parts of the body? Nowhere do we find any explicit reasons given in Chinese books, and yet they are not difficult to trace. No doubt, sophistry made the liver the main seat of vitality, ancient philosophers, as may be seen from the table on page 26, having placed it at the head of the five viscera, identifying it, moreover, with the East, the region of the vernal season, which, producing all vegetation, especially represents life. And, as we may further see from that table, the East is assimilated with anger, the source, according to the Chinese, of courage and audacity, qualities which, more than any, are products of vital strength and animation. Thus, by eating the liver of a fellow creature, man may increase his vital force and, along with it, his intrepidity.

This reasoning is in perfect keeping with the philosophy of Tszĕ-hwa, who, as we saw on page 47, placed the h w u n in the liver. The *Nan king* likewise did so (see p. 71); besides, this work says: "The liver is the East and Wood (*i. e.* vegetation), and Wood is "the spring, in which all beings begin to live" [2]. Yin of Kwan, too, as we saw on page 48, identified the h w u n with Wood and, accordingly, with the East and the spring. And quite common it is to find in medical works the liver styled "the abode of the h w u n" [3], or "the origin of the blood" [4], and we know that blood is identified with the soul; finally, correlatively with these sophisms, the liver is not seldom declared to be "the ruler of the p^{c}o h" [5].

It is, no doubt, in the light of analogous sophistry with regard to the heart, that we have to view the number of instances, related in Chinese books, of this viscus being extracted from murdered or executed persons and eaten. Indeed, according to the table on page

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[1] 帳下都督張猛於後斫琰馬、琰墮地。與二子肇峻俱被害。後劉裕左里之捷生檛猛送琰小子混、混刳肝、生食之. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 79, l. 11.

[2] 肝者東方木也、木者春也、萬物始生. The 41rst. "difficult point".

[3] 魂之居. [4] 血之本. [5] 魄之官.

26, the heart is connected with the South, in which the life of Nature is always in its apogee. The heart, says Tszĕ-hwa (s. page 46), is the principal of all the internal organs, the abode of the shen and of its vital force or tsing; and other thinkers had no other opinion (see p. 80). Kwan of Yin and the schoolmen of the Sung dynasty took the heart as the author of the passions (s. pp. 43 *seq.*) and, consequently, as that of anger, boldness and courage; and Siün Khing declared it to be the master of the shen-ming (p. 45). In short, the heart and the liver are two centra of animation and vitality. Hence, people whose liver and heart do not decay after death, may return to life after an indefinite lapse of time. According to the *Poh wuh chi*, "the people without calves were cave-dwellers and "geophagi. They had no sexes, but after their death and burial their "hearts did not decay, and they became men again after a hundred "years. And in the realm of dwarfs the livers did not decay, and "changed after a hundred years into men. Those nations were "troglodytes, and the two countries were of one and the same kind" [1].

For similar animistic, life-strengthening purposes, human gall is eaten. The gall is, as the table on page 26 may evince, connected by philosophy with the liver, in the close vicinity of which China's physiologists place it; moreover, some consider it to be a special manifestation of the p'oh (s. page 59). Like the liver, near which it lies, it is the seat of courage; but its dignity as such is laid much more stress upon, boldness and recklessness, both in a good and in a bad sense, being called in many dialects, and also very generally in the written language, by expressions such as a big gall, or a good gall [2]. A hero passes for a man with gall [3], a dastard for a man with no or little gall [4], or with an empty gall bladder [5]; etc. Loss of gall [6] means loss of courage; rupture of the gall or of its bladder [7] signifies a fit of terrible fright; letting loose the gall [8] denotes a sudden display of bravery; and so forth.

That the amount of individual courage possessed by a man depends

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1 無啓民居穴食土。無男女、死埋之其心不朽、百年還化爲人。細民其肝不朽、百年而化爲人。皆穴居處、二國同類也. Ch. II.

2 大膽 or 好膽. 3 有膽之人.

4 無膽之人 or 小膽之人.

5 虛膽. 6 失膽. 7 破膽. 8 放膽.

upon the size of his gall, is an idea at least fourteen centuries old. We read that Heu King, whose tragic fate we mentioned on pag. 371, "showed great cruelty in the infliction of punishments, and "atrociously indulged in injustice. Li Chen, a man from the Tung-"yang region, raised troops against him, but was captured by the "insurgents, who sent him up to the Metropolis. There Heu King "brought him out into the market, chopped off his hands and his "feet, ripped up his heart and belly, and cut out his vitals, the "victim, however, continuing to jest with his features undistorted "and his countenance unchanged, with perfect self-command. His "gall-bladder was then seen to have the capacity of a pint" [1].

In 1645, when the armies of the dynasty now on the Throne overran the Empire, one Wu Han-ch'ao made head against them in south-eastern Nganhwui. "Next year they invested Ning-kwoh. "At the southern wall the soldiers escaladed the town, and under "the cover of night spread over it to catch the ringleaders. Wu "Han-ch'ao escaped, but remembering that his mother was still "in the city, and fearing to involve his family, he re-entered, "and presented himself (before the commanders), saying: 'I am the "ringleader'. They ripped up his belly, and his gall had a length "of three ts'un. His wife and her family then perished by pre-"cipitating themselves from a high building" [2].

It is only from the prevalence of a belief in the life-restoring capacities of human gall, that we can explain the existence in China of the following wild story, which, though it does not give us evidently any other truth than that its author was a victim of mystification, yet has its value for illustrating the ideas that gave rise to it. According to the Description of the Customs and Country of Cambodja [3], "it was there, in bygone times, customary to collect

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1 候景虐於用刑、酷忍無道。東陽人李贍起兵、爲賊所執、送詣建鄴。景先出之市中、斷其手足、刻析心服、破出肝腸、贍正色整容言笑自若。見其贍者乃如升焉. History of the South, ch. 80, l. 18.

2 明年正月襲寧國。夜緣南城登、兵潰城中按首事者。吳漢超已出城、念母在、且恐累族人、入見曰、首事者我也。剖其腹、膽長三寸。妻戚自擲樓下死. History of the Ming Dynasty, ch. 277, l. 10.

3 *Chen-lah fung-t'u ki* 眞臘風土記, by Cheu Tah-kwan 周達觀,

"gall in the eighth month, as the kings of Champa tried every "year to get a pot full of it, for which over ten thousand or "over a thousand bladders were required. In many parts, men were "employed to this end under the cover of night in out-of-the-"way places in towns and villages; they captured nocturnal travellers "with lassoes, their headmen then cut out the gall with a knife "below the right ribs, and when they had a required number, "they sent them up to the king of Champa. Gall of Chinese was "the only one they did not take; for one such bladder had been "mixed in a certain year among the others, and made the whole "pot rot and stink, and unfit for use. This collecting of gall has "been abolished of late; but still some members of the official "class, appointed for this work, dwell within the north gate" [1].

The author of the *Tszĕ puh yü* professed to know what was done with that bilious matter. "The royal house of Champa took "gall out of living men, to put it into spirits, which they gave "their family to drink and to wash themselves with, saying that "their bodies were thus imbued thoroughly with gall. Every now "and then men were laid in ambush along the roads, who rushed "out upon those unaware of their purpose, to kill them and steal "their gall, and went off therewith. If the frightened victim guessed "their intent, his gall-bladder burst and became useless. All the "gall was put together in one pot, in which they carefully placed "that of the Chinese on the top" [2].

an attaché to an embassy from the Chinese Court, which visited that kingdom in the years 1295—1297. It consists of forty short sections on different subjects, of which our extract is the thirty-fifth. Abel Rémusat gave a translation of the whole treatise in the "Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques", vol. I, 1829.

[1] 前此於八月內取膽、蓋占城王每年索人膽一甕萬千餘枝。遇夜則多方令人於城中及村落去處、遇有夜行者以繩挩住、其頭用小刀於右脇下取去其膽、俟數足以饋占城王。獨不取唐人之膽、蓋因一年取唐人一膽雜於其中、遂致甕中之膽俱臭腐而不可用故也。近年已除取膽之事、另置取膽官屬居北門之裏.

[2] 占城國取生人膽入酒、與家人飲、且以浴身、曰通身是膽。每伺人于道、出其不意、殺之取膽以去。若其人驚覺、則膽先裂不足用矣。置衆膽于器必以中華人膽居上. Ch. 22.

From all these quotations, to which, did space permit it, we might add many more, the reader sees we may fully trust the travellers and residents in China, who state in their writings, that insurgents, notorious robbers and objects of public animosity are sometimes butchered and devoured. Realizing how intensely the Chinese are concerned about a good conservation of their bodies after death, with a view to saving their souls from distress and annihilation, we can hardly help taking such man-eating as an aggravated pain of death, inflicted deliberately by an exasperated mob. We may therefore place it on a par with incineration and dissipation of the ashes, which process, as we saw on pp. 1404 *sqq.* of Book I, was also often inflicted on the bodies of objects of wrath. It is, however, but fair to say, that we have found nowhere in Chinese books any statements pointing directly to a confirmation of this supposition. In view also of the fact, that there are no reasons to admit a rising of China's civilisation to a higher point than that which it had reached in mediaeval times, we may, furthermore, freely credit the rumours, occasionally circulated, about criminals legally executed having been devoured entirely or partly with a medical object. The Chinese themselves are always found remarkably ready to avow that the heart, the liver, the gall and the blood of such corpses are used for life-strengthening purposes. Pellets of vegetable pith steeped in the blood of decapitated criminals, have been placed before me in Amoy on the counter of an apothecary's shop. And Dr. Rennie, in a vivid description of an execution he witnessed in Thientsin in 1862, wrote: "The executioner produced "a chaplet formed of five pith balls, each about the size of an "orange. These he saturated in the blood as it continued to spout "in successive jets from the severed vessels of the neck. These balls "are hung up and dried in the sun, and sold in small portions "as a medicine, which is employed as a last resource in a disease "which, I suspect, is pulmonary consumption. It is only to the "blood of decapitated criminals that any revivifying power is "attributed. On our way down the main street we overtook the "executioners returning home. The head man was carrying the "bloody sword in the most open manner, and the executioner his "pith chaplet. They turned down a narrow lane to a sort of guard-"house, on a nail on the outside of which the chaplet was hung up" [1].

Sundry ingredients obtained from the human body are inscribed

1 Peking and the Pekingese, II, p. 243—244.

also in leading medical works as life-instilling, health-restoring medicines. The *Pen-tsʿao kang muh*, in which Li Shi-chen wrote down probably everything of importance he found in medical works extant in his time, may be consulted on the subject with more advantage than any other book. We have therefore laid it under heavy contribution for a sketch of cannibalism in the healing-art, to which we will now devote a few pages.

The chief reason for the high value of human blood as a medicine, is its identification with the soul, to which we directed the reader's attention on pp. 80 *sqq*. Another reason may be the doctrine that it shares the animation of the liver, it being a general tenet of Chinese physiologists that "the blood is stored up in the liver" [1]. Chʿen Tsang-khi wrote: "In the case of patients suffering from "atrophy, whose skin and flesh dry up, and on whom scabs appear "resembling bran, as also when somebody is bitten by a rabid dog "and fever arises — blood should be pricked out, and drunk warm "and fresh" [2]. This tapping blood to give others to drink, Li Shi-chen condemns imperatively. "Among murdering rebels", thus he writes, "it occurs that they drink human blood mixed with "spirits. But their victims are people that Heaven slew and thus "received punishment for their acts, so that eating them is not "decidedly blamable. The recipes in which blood enters as an "ingredient, which may be used without the correct principles being "violated, I have collected, and I subjoin them here by way of "appendix. As a cure against reiterated hemoptysis, take the ejected "lumps, roast them till they are black, and take them then as a "powder in doses of three fen .... Against obstinate hemorrhage "from the nose, the *Shing tsi tsung luh* (twelfth cent.) prescribes "the use of a sheet of white paper, to catch up the blood till it "is saturated; then this paper should be burned over a candle, "and the ashes be taken in one dose, with water drawn fresh from "a well; but the patient must not know what he takes. The work "entitled: 'How the Learned Class serve their Parents' [3] recommends

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[1] 血藏於肝。

[2] 羸病人皮肉乾枯、身上癬片起、又狂犬咬、寒熱欲發者、並刺血熱飲之. *Pen-tsʿao kang muh*, ch. 52, l. 26.

[3] *Jü-men shi tsʿin* 儒門事親, in fifteen chapters, by Chang Tsʿung-ching 張從正, also known by his other name Tszĕ-hwo 子和, who lived under

"to dip a fumbled piece of white paper in the patient's own nose-blood, "and put it into eyes, namely in the right one if the nose bleeds "from the left nostril, and in the left when the right nostril is "bleeding. That method works very salutarily. For wounds inflicted "with metal and filling with matter, take blood from the wound, "and drink it mixed with water. When at childbirth the mother's milk "is bloody, then take some vinegar, mix with it a lump of the "blood of a woman in delivery, of the size of a fruit of the jujube "tree, and let her take it" [1]; etc.

In instances of human flesh and human viscera having been used to cure the sick, Chinese books abound. A work of the T'ang dynasty [2] lively suggests the prevalence of the belief in their healing power in a relation of a well-to-do charitable denizen of Hwui-ki, who fell ill in 758. A renowned leech declared "that the shen "of his heart had quitted his body, and that nothing could repair "this loss but eating the heart of a living man" [3]. His son, at a loss how and where to get such a thing, went about the hills, and found a foreign Buddhist anchorite, who told him he was a man of the Yuen (袁) clan, who, on account of his caring nothing for his mundane existence, had retired to that spot. The other replied, that being the case, he would certainly not object in the least to sacrificing his life for a fellow creature and to give his heart to the moribund father; and the recluse assented at once,

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the Kin dynasty. The title of this work refers to the doctrine that every man of good Confucian principles and learning is in duty bound to understand medicine, to be at all times able to help his sick parents (comp. Book I, p. 938).

1 其殘賊亦有以酒飲人血者。此乃天戮之民、必有其報、不必責也。諸方用血惟不悖于理者收附于下。吐血不止、就用吐出血塊、炒黑爲末、每服三分。。。衄血不止聖濟總錄用白紙一張、接衄血令滿、于燈上燒灰作一服新汲水下、勿用病人知。儒門事親就用本衄血紙撚蘸點眼內、左點右、右點左、此法大妙。金瘡內滿取瘡中所出血以水和服之。產乳血運取釅醋、和產婦血如棗大、服之. *Ibid.*

2 *Khiu sin luh* 求心錄, quoted in the TS, sect. 人事, ch. 21.

3 心神已離去其身、非食生人心不可以補之.

stipulating, however, that the son should first give him a good meal to eat. And the pious hermit swallowed the food with wonderful speed and appetite; then, with great agility, he climbed a tree, chanting from the branches this passage from the Wradja Sutra: "The hearts of the past cannot be got, neither those of the "present, nor those of the future; --- you, Danapati, want to get "mine, but you will never have it" [1]. And with loud shrieks and some mighty bounds he changed into a monkey of the yuen (猿) species, and was off.

Evidently on account of its assimilation with the eyes (s. table on p. 26), human liver is considered a good medicine for blindness. The History of the Sung dynasty relates of "one Lü Shing, who, "when his father had lost his eye-sight, ripped up his own abdomen "and tore his liver out of it, to cure his father's complaint with, "the result being that his father could see again, without the son "dying of the consequences of his deed" [2]. It is far from incredible that the use of human flesh for curative purposes should have occasionally given the patients a passionate craving for it, turning them into bloodthirsty cannibals. In a little work, written probably in the latter half of the twelfth century, we have an instance of that: "In the winter of the year wu-yin of the Kia ting period "(1218), the magistrates of Kwangsi reported to the Throne a case "of anthropophagy perpetrated by one Lim Ts'ien-chi, a man in "Khin-cheu. Having incurred a disease which brought him nearly "to his end, a Taoist told him that one's bones and tendons could "be strengthened by boys' and girls' flesh; and they kidnapped "in the district boys and girls of twelve or thirteen, dried their flesh, "and ate it under the names of earth-fowl and earth-duck. Young "female slaves and concubines of the low class were thus devoured "in very great numbers. With large sums they bribed lictors to "kidnap men for them, and inhabitants of hamlets and market-"places, who learned something of it, concealed themselves and "closed their houses, not venturing out of doors. In the end, those "monsters feeling their lives no longer safe, fled to the neighbouring

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[1] 過去心不可得、見在心不可得、未來心不可得、檀越若要取吾心、亦不可得矣。

[2] 呂昇父權失明、剖腹採肝以救父疾、父復能視而昇不死. Chapt. 456, l. 3.

"Hung-cheu, where they concealed themselves in the wilderness, "and caught passers-by. The people there called them the Redcoats, "and took them for robbers. The matter was reported to the prefect "of that district, who arrested them; and they confessed everything. "The Governor apprised the Imperial Court of the matter, but even a "long judicial investigation could not lead to a verdict. On this, "one Sun King, a judge at the Grand Court of Revision, was "delegated to Khin-cheu to examine the case in order to settle it; "but he wavered for more than a year, after which Lim Ts'ien-"chi was prosecuted with no more severity than was usual in slight "cases. The judicial rolls were annihilated, and he merely banished "that man to a detention-city in Kih-yang. The critics of this "sentence declared King guilty, and he was dismissed from his "dignity" [1].

Our readers will hardly believe this atrocious cannibal to have been anything else than a victim of senseless rumours, which everybody credited, except the cleverer Sun King. The case is highly remarkable as an instance that, in China, imputation with the grossest, most impossible monstrosities could find believers enough to set a whole region in general commotion, inclusive of the class above the all-believing mob; besides, it shows that anthropophagy in its very crudest forms was, seven centuries ago, anything but relegated by public opinion to the old past or the domain of myth.

It hardly needs saying, that homicide for the purpose of procuring

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[1] 嘉定戊寅冬廣西諸司奏知欽州林千之食人事。始千之得末疾、有道人教以童男女肉强人筋骨、遂捕境內男女十二三歲、腊而食之、謂之地雞地鴨。其家小婢妾被食甚衆。又以厚賄使卒掠人、墟市閒民稍知之、皆深閉不敢出。卒無以應命、乃走其鄰橫州伏莽中、掠過者。橫州民呼爲紅衣人、意其盜也。告州、捕得、卒言其情。監司上諸朝、既而獄久不決。又使大理評事孫涇往欽州置獄勘之、遷延歲餘、千之竟從輕典僅追。毀除籍、配吉陽牢城而已。既而言者論涇罪、涇罷去. Ch. II of the *Kwei tung* 鬼董, a work in five chapters containing narratives of extraordinary events, relating for the most part to ghosts. The author is not known, but he is supposed to have lived in the latter half of the twelfth century.

medicine is punished by the present Code as wilful murder. The following extracts from it may acquaint the reader with its spirit on this head:

"In the district of Hiang-shan in Kwangtung, one Liu Kung-yoh "was attacked by leprosy. A doctor having said there that disease "can be cured with grains of human gall, the patient spoke of "that with one Liu Shui-ching, who thereupon formed a plan to "swindle him, and, pretending he had some gall-grains, asked him "how much he would pay for them. The other, guessing the swindle, "said he would give him 120 taels of silver, should they prove "efficacious. This offer tempted Liu Shui-ching enough to make him "resolve to try and get such gall. He cut up the abdomen of one "Yuen O-chu, in order to pluck out his gall, but he did not find "it, and the victim died the next day. Liu Shui-ching is to be "punished with lingering death by the knives, in accordance with "the law against ripping up a man to pluck his life out of him; and "Liu Kung-yoh shall be banished" [1]. This Imperial Resolution is from the twelfth year of the Khien lung period, or A. D. 1747.

In the same title of the Code the following series of notices occur: "Some kidnap young boys, and roast the five ruling parts "(viscera) of their bodies, or their bones, and mix them with "drugs, such shen-containing medicines being then used as excel- "lent cures for every organ of the senses or aperture of the body. "Others entice, by means of drugs, pregnant women far into the "hills, and draw the foetus out of their womb, in order to make "sundry life-conferring medecines of it . . . . [2].

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[1] 廣東香山縣民劉公岳染患痲瘋。有方醫曾言人膽製米可以愈疾、劉公岳轉向劉瑞徵提及嗣、劉瑞徵圖騙、向劉公岳揑稱現有膽米、詢其出價若干。劉公岳知其誆、已聲稱如果有效願出銀一百二十兩。而劉瑞徵卽思謀取人膽。遂將阮亞珠剖腹撿膽、無獲、阮亞珠越二日殞命。將劉瑞徵依採生折割律凌遲處死、劉公岳比例擬徒. *Ta Tsing luh li*, ch. 26, title 採生折割人.

[2] 或誘拐幼童、炙其五官百骸配藥、以神醫治各竅之妙。又或藥迷孕婦於深山、取腹內胎爲一切資生藥。。。

"Should there live in any locality any individuals who decoy "away boys or girls with charms and spells, and then cut off their "limbs, or roast and take out their marrow or brains, etc., then "the local magistrates who neglect to arrest them rigorously and "to bring them to justice, shall be lowered two degrees in the "registers of official merit [1].

"In Szĕ-ch'wen cases occur of men being wantonly killed, to make "pills of them. Should it come to pass that a living man is burned "to death for such a purpose, the case shall be treated as one of "hacking and cutting somebody, in order to take his life out of "him. This is an Imperial Resolution taken in the 15th. year of "the Khien lung period (1750), on a proposal of the Governor-"General of Szĕ-ch'wen [2].

"In the fourteenth year of that same period, the Board (of Punish-"ments) revised the following sentence, given in Kiangsu. One P'an "Ming-hiao had dug up the corpse of an infant, and given it to "Ku King-wen, who burned and brewed it with drugs; and the "latter was thereupon revered as a master, and those who applied "to him for his medical capacities received medicines from him "prepared from that child, and he tried to get more corpses of "infants, to prepare them for sale. These were cases of hacking and "cutting to take away life, perpetrated by that Ku King-wen. This "man committed such practices in all their perfection, without, "however, using for the purpose any living men, unless any such "acts have remained undiscovered. The Provincial Governor condemned "him to strangulation, according to the law against the propagation "and practice of black arts, a law mild enough for a crime so great. "And one Li Yuen-fang, knowing that Ku King-wen was desirous "to mix living children in medicines, charged him (P'an Ming-hiao) "with procuring him some; and this man decoyed and kidnapped "the son of one Sü Wei-hing, whom he delivered to Li Yuen-fang "with his own hands, thus causing him to be cooked and roasted "alive. That this child thus perished, was, in fact, the work of this "criminal, and so his crime was greater than that of lending a "helping hand in the boiling and roasting. He was sentenced to

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[1] 地方有用符咒騙誘子女、毀其肢體、炙取腦髓等事、地方官不嚴拿懲治、降二級.

[2] 川省因煉團擅斃人命。如有活爲燒斃者、照採生折割問擬。乾龍十五年川督策奏准.

"banishment for having taken part in a plot of murder without "participating in the execution of the plot; but this would be too "mild a punishment. The sentence is therefore amended in this "wise: P'an Ming-hiao and Li Yuen-fang shall be punished "according to the law on hacking and cutting somebody in order "to take away his life, and that as accomplices who took an "active part in the perpetration; that is to say, they shall be "beheaded, without their sentence having to be subjected to any "revision" [1].

Considering that references to medical cannibalism are remarkably numerous in books of all times, we become almost entitled to admit that every leading work on the healing art must have contained recipes with parts of the human body for chief ingredients. Li Shi-chen wrote in his standard-work: "Chang Kao says in his *I shwoh* [2], "that in the Khai yuen period the Fuhkien man Ch'en Tsang-khi "wrote in his *Pen-ts'ao shih i*, that human flesh is a remedy for "atrophy and debility, and that it was no rare occurrence in villages "to cut pieces of flesh from the thigh on behalf of sufferers of "such complaints. So, cutting one's own thigh or liver occurred "already antecedent to Ch'en, and this author is to be censured "for having written about the matter in his work without advocating "the erroneousness of it. In this my *Pen-ts'ao* I confine myself to "merely touching upon the matter. Oh, our body and limbs, hair "and skin, we got them altogether from our parents, and so

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1 乾龍十四年部駁江蘇成案。潘鳴梟既刨掘孩屍、給顧景文、煉熬合藥、復爲拜師求術得受孩方、即自覓孩屍煉賣。是顧景文採割之術。該犯業已習成、但未得生人以行其折割、或已行而未敗露耳。該撫僅照傳習邪術例擬絞、實屬情重法輕。李元芳明知顧景文欲用活孩合藥、託伊尋覓、該犯卽誘取徐惟恆之子、親手送交、以致活遭煮炙。是幼孩實由該犯而死、情罪較幇同煮炙更重。乃照謀殺不加功擬流改遣、尤屬輕縱。駁改將潘鳴梟李元芳均依採生折割爲從加功律斬立決.

2 醫說, "Medical Treatises", in ten chapters, by Chang Kao 張杲, also known as Ki-ming 季明, who lived under the Sung dynasty.

"we have no right to maim or wound them. And could any parents, "even if dangerously ill, possibly desire their offspring to mutilate "their limbs, and make them eat their bones and flesh? We have "here to do with ideas of stupid people. It is stated in Ho Meng-"ch'un's [1] *Yü tung luh*, that Kiang Poh-'rh, when his mother was "ill, cut flesh from his ribs and gave it her to eat, and yet no "cure ensued. Then he prayed to the gods on her behalf, pro-"mising them to immolate his son as a thank-offering, and as "she regained her health, he killed his son, three years old. The "matter was reported to the Emperor T'ai Tsu (founder of the "Ming dynasty), who, indignant at his thus cutting short his pedigree "and destroying thereby the natural laws, had him belaboured "with sticks and banished .... The *Choh king luh* of T'ao Kiu-"ch'ing says, that in times old and modern, soldiers on the war-"path have eaten human flesh, calling it flesh of thought or, "occasionally, mutton of bipeds. But such things are unnatural "practices of insurgents, which cannot be quite eradicated" [2].

"Soldiers from the North often collect human gall on the battle-"fields, and apply it to wounds inflicted by metal, saying that "it works most efficaciously; but no decoctions of drugs must be "used thereafter, as else inflammation is produced. And if other "medicaments have been applied to the wounds before, such gall "must not be used. Gall thus collected on battle-fields for help in

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1 A statesman of the fifteenth and the sixteenth century, bearing also the name of Tszĕ-yuen 子元.

2 張杲醫說言、唐開元中閩人陳藏器著本草拾遺載人肉療羸瘵、閭閻有病此者多割股。按陳氏之先已有割股割肝者矣、而歸咎陳氏所以罪其筆之於書、而不立言以破惑也。本草可輕言哉。嗚呼、身體髮膚受之父母、不敢毀傷。父母雖病篤、豈肯欲子孫殘傷其支體而自食其骨肉乎。此愚民之見也。按何孟春餘冬錄云、江伯兒母病割脇肉以進、不愈。禱于神、欲殺子以謝神、母愈、遂殺其三歲子。事聞大祖皇帝、怒其絕倫滅理杖而配之。。。陶九成輟耕錄載、古今亂兵食人肉、謂之想肉、或謂之兩脚羊。此乃盜賊之無人性者、不足誅矣. Ch. 52, ll. 38 *seq.*

"emergenies, may be used also in a dried state without the laws of "rectitude being violated thereby. On such occasions of destruction "of life, when warriors are allowed to kill, they take the gall of "the slain and drink it in spirits, thinking it to have a strengthening "effect. But such deceptive practices may be in vogue in the army "ever so much, yet a man of noble principles does not indulge in "them" [1]. The *Pen-tsʿao kang muh* declares fresh human gall to be a salutary medicine for stubborn fevers that have troubled patients for years, as also for serious disturbances of digestion, in which cases it should be mixed with uncooked glutinous rice and some musk [2]. "Alternate fevers of a stubborn character, caused by spectres, "are cured immediately if a mixture of human gall, cinnaber, male "yellow, deer-musk, and still other ingredients is placed in the "left nostril of a male patient, and in the right of a female one; "and two patients are curable with one such pill" [3].

From the fact that the cutting off flesh from the body to cure parents with, is, as we saw on page 384, mentioned by Chʿen Tsang-khi, we have to infer that this practice occurred prior to the eighth century. It must, however, have been then rather rare than general. Indeed, we have read through some twenty notices about filial persons of both sexes living before the Christian era; through some sixty bearing upon the two centuries during which the Later Han dynasty occupied the throne, and through upward of two hundred in the period which lies between the reign of this House and that of Tʿang; — and in none have we found the matter in question mentioned or even touched upon. Those ciphers show clearly, that it was the time of the Later Han dynasty in which the cultivation of h i a o or filial piety was carried to the high pitch it has maintained ever since, but that then four centuries still had to elapse ere the degeneration of that national virtue into fanatic self-mutilation

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[1] 北虜戰場中多取人膽汁敷金瘡、云極效、但不可再用泡藥、必傷爛也。若先敷他藥卽不可用此。此乃殺場救急之法收膽乾之亦可用、無害于理也。有等殘忍武夫殺人、卽取其膽和酒飲之、云令人勇。是雖軍中謬術、君子不爲也. *Ibid.*

2 Chapter 52, l. 38.

[3] 鬼瘧進退不定者用人膽、硃砂、雄黃、麝香等納鼻中卽瘥、男左、女右、一丸可治二人. *Ibid.*

became an accomplished social evil. Instances of its being perpetrated on behalf of parents or paternal grandparents dangerously ill, and by women for their husband's parents, crop up in the literature of the T'ang dynasty, in particular in the local chi, or special works on the several subdivisions of the Empire; but we find them also in considerable numbers in the Standard Histories.

Such filial "thigh-cutting" [1], as the practice is generally named, is stated to have been rewarded in many cases officially with public marks of distinction, consisting of honorary inscriptions over the house-door or the village-gate. Under subsequent dynasties, especially under that of Ming, instances of such rewards are recorded with overwhelming frequency. They may be gleaned from the chi and the Histories by hundreds, nay thousands; and yet they surely are a dwindling minimum against those that were never committed to writing, or fell into eternal oblivion by the books, in which they were recorded, being lost. The flesh was cut mostly off the thigh or the posterior, but also off a fore-arm or upper arm, from the fingers, breast or ribs. We find cases of blood having been tapped for the same purpose, and livers cut out. In by far most instances it remains unmentioned how the flesh was prepared; but it is sometimes stated that porridge or broth [2] was made of it, or that it was mixed with medicine. We read of filial sons, daughters and daughters-in-law taking out their own brains, or cutting out a bone for its marrow; but we think such reports to be fruits of mere fancy and absurd exaggeration.

There exist, of course, no reasons whatever to doubt that it was in the first place the ascription of therapeutic virtues to parts of the human body, that prompted such filial self-mutilation. The fact that books frequently make the surgeons declare the patients incurable unless with human flesh, here clears away the last shadow of doubt. It must not be overlooked however, that often also we read of thigh-cutters invoking Heaven beforehand, solemnly asking this highest power to accept their own bodies as a substitution for the patients' lives they wanted to save; their mutilation thus assuming the character of self-immolation. Now and then we learn, that such paragons of filial virtue afterwards had apparitions of divine messengers, informing them that Heaven, moved by their filial

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1 割股, 剔股, or 割股.

2 粥 or 羹.

conduct, granted them a prolongation of life. Heaven thus bestowing favours upon such worthies, it is no wonder that its Sons followed its example. They have in fact, rewarded them throughout all centuries, granting them eulogistic sentences to suspend over their doors, as also honorary gates, and places in official temples specially erected for worship of the filial; but, as we saw on page 751 of Book I, the present reigning dynasty has, in its Constitution, abolished such official encouragements in the case of sons. It could freely do so without abjuring its own principle of upholding by all possible means the cultivation of hiao, thigh-cutting being no institution of the ancients, and thus perfectly liable to proscription as heterodox.

After all, it is hardly saying too much that, in point of their animistic medical art, the Chinese are thoroughly anthropophagous. With undiminished prodigality the chi supply us with instances of filial cures with human flesh, which occurred under the reigning dynasty. Honourable mention is often made in the Peking Gazette of such cases, and in May 1874 a memorial in that state-paper records how the Deputy Governor of Honan petitioned in reference to a dutiful daughter, who cut a piece of flesh from her arm, in order to cure her father of his sickness. "In the present Holy "Dynasty filial piety rules the Empire, and this doctrine originates "in the female sex. In the district of Chin-yang there lived a daughter "remarkable for her filial piety, whose name after her marriage "was Mrs. Wang. In the fifth year of the Hien fung period "(1855) this young lady's father became dangerously ill, and his "filial daughter, lighting incense sticks, announced (to Heaven) her "desire to sacrifice her own body for her father's sake. After this "announcement, her father's illness increasing, and his physicians "being unable to cure him, this filial daughter secretly cut off a "piece of flesh from her arm, and putting it into the medicine "prescribed, gave it to her father, who, on eating it, immediately "recovered. Some time afterwards the daughter's female attendants, "perceiving the mark on her arm, questioned her as to the cause, "and learned from her the facts already stated. There was not a "single individual of all those who heard the narrative who was "not struck with amazement". The young lady in question was shortly afterwards married, but her father dying some ten years afterwards, she "pined away and died of grief". The petition from which the above quotation is made, prays the Emperor to order that a Triumphal Arch be erected to her memory, as was usual

in cases when extreme filial piety had been displayed; and the petition was granted [1].

As a curiosity in Chinese therapeutical anthropophagy, we may mention that newly castrated eunuchs are advised to eat their own cut-off member for a speedy close of the wound. Li Shi-chen writes: "The penis is no medicine, but T'ao Kiu-ch'ing wrote in "his *Choh king luh*, that in Hang-cheu a certain Shen committed "adultery, and as the matter transpired, drew a knife and cut off "his male organ. A month passed away, and still the open wound "continued bleeding, till some one had the penis sought for; he "triturated it, and the patient having taken the powder in alcohol, "was healed in a few days. With a view to that event, those who "descend into the silkworm-rooms (the harems) must not be ignorant "of this method. So I adjoin it here" [2].

If the Chinese, acting on the principle that parts of the human body contain vitality and animation, consider them highly useful in therapeutics and in their prophylactic art, it is only natural they should ascribe medical virtues also to such parts as can be obtained without infliction of wounds, and to secretions and excretions. Hair, nails and teeth were admitted in the list of medicines with so much the more readiness as they manifest life and animation by their growth. According to the *Pen-ts'ao king* of Shen Nung, human hair in general brings back into the individual the operation of his s h e n [3]. Han Pao-shing [4] connects this theory with the idea, traceable to the extract from the *I yuen* which we gave on page 238, that human hair may become eels, as also with a statement of Ch'en Tsang-khi, according to which hairs of living men, if hung about in the trees, scare away birds from the fruits. Moreover, as Li Shi-chen remarks, "hairs are the rests of the blood", that is, of the fluid especially identified with the soul. "When buried in

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1 Dennys, The Folk-lore of China, page 69.

2 人陰莖非藥物也、陶九成輟耕錄載杭州沈生犯姦、事露引刀自割其勢。流血經月不合、或令尋所割勢、擣粉酒服、不數日而愈。觀此則下蠶室者不可不知此法也。故附于此云. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 52, l. 37.

3 自還神化. *Ibid.*., l. 2.

4 韓保昇, a renowned physician of the tenth century, living in Szĕ-ch'wen. He wrote a Herbarium of that country, the *Shuh pen-ts'ao* 蜀本草, in twenty books.

"the ground", thus he goes on to say, "hairs do not rot in a thousand "years, and when eaten by mistake, they may change in the belly "into insects that cause vesicles" [1]. All those ideas make it certain enough that hairs are considered to live and to be animated, and we cannot, accordingly, be far away from the truth when we ascribe their alleged medical virtue to that belief.

"When Li Tseh", a high statesman who lived from 584—669, "was attacked by a virulent disease, the doctor asserted that some "beard-ashes might cure him. The emperor himself cut off some "of his own beard, which, mixed with medical herbs, effected the "cure [2]. And a grandee of the Sung dynasty, Lü I-kien, being "ill, the emperor Jen Tsung said: 'According to the ancients, whisker-"hair has health-restoring virtues. I will cut off some of mine and "give it him to mix in his medicines, as a testimony of the "warm feelings I cherish for him'" [3].

Authors, regularly copying each other's dictions, agree that hair cures costiveness, obstructions in the urinal canal, and convulsions of babies. Nose-bleeding is stopped immediately by snuffing up some hair-ashes. Hiccough, and wounds and tumors of all sorts are cured by hair, and so are, according to Li Shi-chen, diseases of the blood, on account of hair being remains of the blood. "Liu Kiün-ngan "took his own hair with its dandruff, and burned these ingredients "separately, so that their natural qualities remained (in the ashes), "of which he then took doses of three pills a little larger than "peas, calling them 'medicine making the tsing return'. Thus did "he prevent his head from turning grey" [4]. This extract removes the last doubt that strengthening of the soul or its tsing is at the bottom of the use of hair in the therapeutical art. Dandruff, too, heals sundry complaints; and T'ao Hung-king wrote "that in his time, "they used that of contented and corpulent persons, their dandruff

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1 髮者血之餘。埋之土中千年不朽、誤食、人腹變爲癥蟲. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 52, l. 2.

2 李勣嘗暴疾、醫曰用須灰可治。帝乃自翦須、以和藥及愈. Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 93, l. 9.

3 宋呂夷簡疾仁宗曰、古人言髭可治疾、今朕剪髭與之合藥、表朕意也. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 52, l. 31.

4 劉君安以已髮合頭垢等、分燒存性、每服豆許三九、名曰還精丹。令頭不白. *Ibid.*, l. 3.

"in particular being good for pills [1]. Among the people", thus he states further, "mothers simmer for their babies hens'eggs, mixing "hairs combed from the father's head with the yolk, which they then "boil for a long time, thus obtaining a juice for their babies "curing phlegm, hot fever, and all sorts of complaints" [2]. Li Shi-chen gives some seventy recipes in which hair, hair-ashes, or dandruff enter as principal ingredients — a respectable number, indeed.

Ashes of human teeth, mixed with some musk and alcohol, are used internally by sufferers from small-pox and other complaints; and calcined teeth of foxes, swine, dogs etc., in syrup, pass for first-rate health-preservers. The therapeutic value of nails of the fingers and the toes seems to be referable to the belief that, as Li Shi-chen says, "they are the remains or appendices of the tendons "and the external organs of the gall; moreover, the *Ling ch'u king* "says that the liver corresponds with the nails [3]. According to Kheu "Tsung-shih [4], "fine scrapings from the nails, if snuffed up, imme- "diately stop nose-bleeding, and nails of whomsoever are good for "the purpose" [5]. And Li Shi-chen teaches, that "they accelerate "childbirth and expel the placenta; they act salutarily upon urine, "cure blood-urine and diseases caused by the Yin and the Yang "taking each other's place, as also internal catarrh; and they remove "cataract from the eyes" [6]. And Ch'en Tsang-khi says: "Take nail- "powder of a pregnant woman, and put a little in your eyes; it "will then remove therefrom the cataract-film" [7].

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1 今當用悅澤人者、其垢可丸也. *Ibid.*, l. 5.

2 俗中嫗母爲小兒作雞子煎、用其父梳頭亂髮雜雞子黃熬良久、得汁與兒服、去痰熱、療百病. *Ibid.*, l. 3.

3 爪甲者筋之餘、瞻之外候也、靈樞經云、肝應爪. *Ibid.*, l. 7.

4 寇宗奭, an Æsculapius who flourished in the first quarter of the twelfth century, author of the *Pen-ts'ao yen i* 本草衍義 or Ample Explication of the Vegetable Kingdom, in three chapters.

5 鼻衄細刮鼷之、立愈、衆人甲亦可. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 52, l. 8.

6 催生、下胞衣、利小便、治尿血及陰陽易病、破傷中風、去目翳. *Ibid.*

7 懷妊婦人爪甲取末點目去翳. *Ibid.*

Li Shi-chen gives us fifty recipes based on all that quack wisdom. Remarkable is the following one: "Always cut your finger-"nails on a k e n g-ch'e n day, and those of your toes on a k i a h-"w u day, and calcine the cuttings every year on the 16th. day "of the seventh moon; mix the ashes with water, and drink them "up, for thus the three death-causing influences and the nine sorts "of vermin shall be destroyed in you. This method is called: the "decapitation of the three death-causing influences. It is also said "that those influences move through the two hands on k i a h-y i n "days, so that it is on these that the finger-nails ought to be cut; "and as they move about the feet on k i a h-w u days, the nails of "the toes should be then cut" [1].

Still more disgusting is the practice of treating the sick and the wounded with human secretions. Not all these are allotted a place in the Chinese Pharmacopœia. Tears are declared poisonous, being apt to give a child cataract, should they drop on its eyes out of the mother's. Sweat, too, is venemous, and may produce boils or ulcers; as well as the blood, it is produced by the heart, so that one who cannot sweat has no blood, and a bloodless person does not perspire. Wax from the ears is recommended in sundry cases, but exclusively for external use. Mixed with excrements of earth-worms, it is rubbed on bites of snakes and insects. Wounds are healed with ear-wax of the patient himself, mixed with scrapings of his nails; it is deemed good also for hot water blisters and boils, and more particularly for ear-complaints. For external use are also preparations from phlegm and spittle. The reputed medical value of these secretions is evinced by the nice names given them by leeches and pharmaceutics, viz. 靈液, "l i n g fluid", and 神水, "s h e n water", they being, as Li Shi-chen says, "modifications of the k h i possessed of t s i n g" [2]. This learned author recommends washing one's eyes every morning with one's own saliva, and rubbing them continuously with the fingers and thumbs after having licked the nails, this

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[1] 常以庚辰日去手爪、甲午日去足爪、每年七月十六日將爪甲燒灰、和水服之、三尸九虫皆滅。名曰斬三尸。一云甲寅日三尸遊兩手、剪去手爪甲、甲午日三尸遊兩足、剪去足爪甲. *Ibid.*
Note that the word k i a h, a term in the denary cycle used for the division of time Book I, p. 103), has also the meaning of nail.

[2] 唾津乃人之精氣所化. *Op. et cap. cit.*, l. 28.

being a good expedient to sharpen the eye-sight. Persons in coma or swoon are resuscitated by some one spitting vehemently into their face and biting their heels and the nails of their fingers and thumbs, gently calling to them all the while. The *Pen-ts'ao kang muh* gives four recipes for boils or wens and snake-bites, in which the patient's own saliva, or that of others, is the main substance.

Life-lengthening and curing power is ascribed also to human milk. "Medical men", says Li Shi-chen, "conceal its true name, and "call it sien-wine. It may enter into the composition of medicines "only when it is that of a woman at the birth of her first-born son, "or that of a healthy woman" [1]. It cures inflamed eyes, atrophy, debility of the viscera, etc., softening also the skin and making it white. As a medicament, it is mixed sometimes with the excrements of sparrows. "T'ao Hung-king relates of one Chang Ts'ang of the "Han dynasty, who, though old and toothless, kept a hundred "wives and concubines, and always fed on human milk, with this "result that he lived upward of a hundred years, blessed with "a body as corpulent as a pumpkin" [2]. Ho Shang-chi, a dignitary who flourished in the first half of the fifth century, "had consumption, "and drank women's milk for several years, thus restoring his health" [3]. "Li Shi-chen says, that the History of the South contains, moreover, "an instance of an old man in Jang-ch'ing, who reached the age "of two hundred and forty by nothing else than drinking the milk "of the wives of his great-grandsons" [4].

The reasons why milk is deemed to be health-preserving and health-restoring, are to be sought for in its supposed identity with the blood. "What are, thus says Kheu Tsung-shih, the reasons why "human milk has so many virtues as a remedy for the eyes? "Well, a man's heart produces blood; when his liver contains "blood and his spleen receives blood, he is able to see, and when

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1 方家隱其名、謂之仙人酒。凡入藥並取首生男兒無病婦人之乳. *Ibid.*, l. 22.

2 弘景曰、漢張蒼年老無齒、妻妾百數、常服人乳、故年百歲餘身如瓠. *Ibid.*

3 何尙之因患勞病積年飮婦人乳、乃得差. History of the South, ch. 30, l. 2; Books of the Sung Dynasty, ch. 66, l. 5.

4 時珍曰、南史又言穰城老人年二百四十歲惟飮曾孫婦乳也. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 52, l. 23.

"water enters into the female menses, the blood in the latter is "formed. That which forms milk above, forms the menses beneath, "which proves that milk is blood. Why then should milk have "no proper effect when dropped into the eyes?" [1] We hope the reader may be clever enough to decipher for himself this piece of learnedness, for we are at a loss how to explain it.

Having seen in chapter XII, 2, that the seeds of certain plants are highly valued in leechcraft and life-prolonging art as special seats of the vitality of those plants, we might expect that the same train of thought would lead the Chinese to ascribe restorative virtue to human seed. "Li Shi-chen writes: The bran of the khi, which "builds up the body, changes into semen, which accumulates in "the gate of life, the latter being the mansion of the semen and "of the blood. Without blood no semen is formed, and when there "is no khi, the semen is not nourished. Hence, when the blood "is abundant, the semen flourishes, and when the khi accumulates, "the semen is present to its full amount" [2]. It is perhaps owing to their thus considering it to be a product of the blood and of the khi or soul, that the Chinese denote semen by the same word tsing which, as the reader knows, signifies the vital force of the soul, without which the soul cannot act. But it will rather astonish us to hear, that semen occupies no place of significance in therapeutics. Mixed with the excrements of hawks or eagles, it is used to heal skin-scars and pimples on the face, and as a balsam for wounds, hot water blisters and sundry eruptions; but this is nearly all the use that is made of it. Nevertheless, the conviction that semen possesses life-lengthening virtues was not wanting in Li Shi-chen's time, for in mentioning that the semen of men and women was then used on a large scale for sorcerous purposes, he declares "the eating of such sordid dregs, in order to prolong the

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[1] 宗奭曰、人乳汁治目之功多何也。人心生血、肝藏血、脾受血、則能視、蓋水入于經、其血乃成。上則爲乳汁、下則爲月水、故知乳汁則血也。用以點眼豈不相宜. *Ibid.*

[2] 時珍曰、營氣之粹化而爲精、聚于命門、命門者精血之府也。精非血不化也、精非氣不養也。故血盛則精長、氣聚則精盈. *Ibid.*, l. 27.

"natural duration of life, to be the greatest nonsense and stupidity" [1].

Much more medical effect is ascribed to the placenta. "Wu Khiu "said, that in the old recipes of the purple river car (a name for "the placenta among medical sages) no distinction was made between "that of a male and a female child, but that recent generations "had begun using the former for male patients, and the latter for "female; others, however, opined that they ought to be used in "a reversed sense. The best are those produced at a first delivery; "the next in quality, also good for use, are those from strong and "robust, healthy women. The placenta ought to be washed in "clean rice-water; then, placed in a bamboo basket, it must be "immersed in a constant stream of water, till the fibres of the "film are washed away; and next, after one washing with milk "and odorous spirits, it must be placed in a hamper of wicker, "dried in the sun, and pulverized. Some roast this powder on "porcelain; others cook the placenta in alcohol, and then knead "it into a soft mass; or they steam it in an alembic, knead it "and sun it, and those treated in this way are considered the best. "According to Tung Ping [2], the prevailing method of cooking the "placenta in alcohol and roasting it on fire, or removing the fibres of "the film, is a great mistake, for if the after-birth is roasted or boiled, "the child in most cases cannot be brought up. Hence, steaming "and kneading it, and mixing it thereon with medicine, is the best "method; and as the fibers and the film are the first genuine khi "in a coagulated form, they must not be severed from it" [3].

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1 食穢滓促其天年、吁愚之甚矣. *Ibid.*

2 董炳, a physician in the first half of the twelfth century; author of a *Tsih yen fang* 集驗方, or Collection of tested Recipes.

3 吳球曰、紫河車古方不分男女、近世男用男、女用女、一云男病用女、女病用男。初生者爲佳、次則健壯無病婦人者亦可。取得以清水沚擺淨、竹器盛于長流水中、洗去筋膜、再以乳香酒洗過、篾籠盛之、烘乾、研末。亦有瓦焙研者、酒煮擣爛者、甑蒸擣晒者、以蒸者爲佳。董炳云、今人皆酒煮火焙反去筋膜大誤矣、火焙水煮其子多不育。惟蒸擣和藥最良、筋膜乃初結眞氣、不可剔去也. *Ibid.*, l. 34.

Ch'en Tsang-khi says, "that in cases of atrophy settled in the "khi of the blood, or when a woman has consumption or a "wrinkled blackish face, or a disease in the abdomen or the flesh, "connected with slow atrophy, the placenta must then be worked, "in a quite clean condition, into dainties of any sort by way of "dumplings, and thus given the patient to eat, but without the "woman knowing it" [1]. Wu Khiu also says: "it cures all kinds of "consumption in men or women, as also quiet mental derangement "and epilepsy, convulsions and spasms, loss of memory and idiocy. "It gives rest to the heart, nourishes the blood, increases the breath, "and strengthens the tsing" [2].

"The placenta, thus adds Li Shi-chen, is mentioned by Ch'en "Tsang-khi in his *Pen-ts'ao shih i*; but only few people before "him made use of it. In recent days it has come into vogue "since Mr. Chu of Tan-khi discussed its merits; and since Kwah "Ts'ang and Wu Khiu began to make a medicament of it, known "as very generant pills (see *infra*), it has made its way through "the world on a still more extensive scale. It is stated in the Books "of the Sui Dynasty that the women in Liu-kiu, on giving birth "to a child, always devour the placenta [3]; and Chang Shi-ching "says in the *Küen yiu luh*, that the Liao in the eight Kwei regions, "when a male child is born, roast the placenta in a mixture of "sundry dainties, then convoking the nearest kindred to eat it. "But such practices remind one of animals that eat their placenta "on littering, and they do not belong to the human race. In the "*Siao 'rh fang* or Medicaments for Babies, by the hand of Ts'ui "Hing-kung [4], it is said: 'The placenta should be stored away in a "felicitous spot under the salutary influences of the sky or the "moon, deep in the ground, and with earth piled up over it care-"fully, in order that the child may be ensured a long life. If it is "devoured by a swine or dog, the child loses its intellect; if "insects or ants eat it, the child becomes scrofulous; if crows

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[1] 血氣羸瘦、婦人勞損、面黯皮黑、腹肉諸病漸瘐者、治淨以五味和之如餡餅法與食之、勿令婦知. *Ibid.*

[2] 人胞治男女一切虛損勞極、癲癎失志恍惚。安心養血益氣補精. *Ibid.*

3 Compare ch. 81 of that work, l. 12.

4 A high officer, who died in 674.

"or magpies swallow it, the child will have an abrupt or violent "death; if it is cast into the fire, the child incurs running sores. "It is also forbidden to defile with it any wells in the vicinity of "a temple dedicated to the tutelary divinity of the soil, or any "furnaces, streets or lanes" [1].

From a list of placenta-recipes, gleaned by Li Shi-chen from earlier works, we see that certain famous "river car pills" cure debility and atrophy of women, phthisis, etc. The "very generant pills", mentioned above, further the birth of boys, increase deliveries, and are of good avail at difficult childbirth, or at irregular menstruation. They bring back life into people on the point of dying, and they are highly salutary for the sexual organs, sharpening also the ears and eyes, and prolonging life. It is for that great generant power that they bear their name. Medicines with the placenta as main ingredient are good also for lunacy, convulsions, epilepsy, etc.

Still, water found after seven or eight years in a pot in which a placenta was buried, is useful for making precious mixtures for fever and stomach-disease, such water being deemed to be a transformation of the placenta. The Southerners hide placentas in the ground for this purpose, placing, moreover, sundry other ingredients in the pot, to increase the medical power. The umbilical cord, too, is highly valued as a febrifuge, and as a prophylactic against small-pox.

Seeing the loathsome excretions of childbirth in so high esteem with China's medical world of the past and the present, it can no more astonish us that curing and healing powers are ascribed also to female menses. "Nowadays", says Li Shi-chen, "sorcerous "arts are practised by some doctors of medicine, who befool the

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[1] 時珍曰、人胞雖載于陳氏本草、昔人用者猶少。近因丹溪朱氏言其功、遂爲時用、而括蒼吳球始創大造丸一方尤爲世行。按隋書云、琉球國婦人產兒必食子衣、張師正倦遊錄云、八桂獠人產男以五味煎調胞衣、會親啖之。此則諸獸生子自食其衣之意、非人類也。崔行功小兒方云、凡胎衣宜藏於天德月德吉方、深埋緊築、令兒長壽。若爲猪狗食、令兒癲狂、蟲蟻食、令兒瘡癬、烏鵲食、令兒惡死、棄于火中、令兒瘡爛。近於社廟汚水井竈街巷皆有所禁. *Ibid.*, l. 35.

"simple-minded with roll of drums. Their arts come to this, that "they take the first menses of virgins and swallow them, calling "that stuff precursory natural red minium. Simple minds credit "them, and swallow such sordid stuff as an occult medicine, thus "incurring occasionally scarlet fever. In every respect such horrid "things are to be sighed at" [1]. In spite of this poignant fulmination hurled in the face of quack-doctors, our respectable, most highly learned medical ignoramus does not himself refrain from giving in his standard work a dozen prescriptions prepared from the menses of girls, and from the fibres to be found therein. Those prescriptions teach us, that the ashes of menses are especially good for fever, convulsions of children, and wounds inflicted with poisoned arrows, or by tigers and wolves. Ointments prepared from menses are rubbed on boils and ulcers, or on wounds incurred while skinning a horse; and so on.

Dirt scraped from the teeth is recommended for snake-bites and stings of insects, and for splinters that cannot be extracted, as it prevents the formation of ulcers [2]. No excretions are made a more extensive use of than faeces and urine. "The people close to "city-markets", says T'ao Hung-king, "take empty jars, close them, "and place them in the dung, thus obtaining after a series of "years a very black and bitter fluid (filtered through the pores?), "which they call yellow dragon-soup. This is good for pestilential "disease, and cures the moribund. Ta Ming [3] says: Cut wet bamboo "in the twelfth month, draw off the green bark, and gather juice "by soaking the tubes in dung; this juice will cure natural fever and "empoisonment, and it is called purity of dung. If black pods are "thus soaked, or sugar-cane, they cure natural fevers, and are "called human internal yellow. According to Chu Chen-heng, "internal yellow is to be made in the following way: — Take a

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1 時珍曰、今有方士邪術、鼓弄愚人。以法取童女初行經水服食、謂之先天紅鉛。愚人信之、吞嚥穢滓以爲秘方、往往發出丹疹。殊可嘆惡. *Ibid.*, l. 25.

2 *Ibid.*, l. 29.

3 大明, known also by the name of Jih-hwa 日華, a learned physician, flourishing when the Sung dynasty ascended the throne. He wrote a medical work in twenty chapters, entitled *Jih-hwa chu kia pen-ts'ao* 日華諸家本草, Jeh-hwa's Herbal for Families.

"bamboo tube, put some powder of sweet herb (sugar-cane?) into "it, and plug the open ends with bamboo wood; then sink it into "a dung-jar in the winter months, and take it out of it in the "beginning of the spring, to hang it up in an airy spot and leave "it there in the shade to dry, on which you may open the bamboo, "take the herb out, and dry it for use. And Wang Ki [1] says: "Take braided leaves, such as are used to wrap dumplings in, or "some cotton paper; lay out some yellow clay upon it, and sprinkle "dung-sap over it, which, filtering through the clay, may be caught "up as a clear juice in a new jar. This jar, covered with a dish, "is to be buried firmly in the ground for a year, and when taken "out, the contents will be found as limpid as well-water, and "devoid of the slightest bad odour. The older this water is, the "better its qualities are; at any rate it is much superior to that "which is obtained by soaking bamboo tubes" [2]. This esthetical brew is drunk against fever-delirium, fits of insanity, virulent eruptions of the epidermis, pulmonary consumption, hemorrhage, etc.

Ashes of faeces, and faeces and urine fermented with some boiled rice for a long time, are prescribed for phthisis and dryness of the bones (?). Burned excrements, used internally, stop nose-bleeding, and dried excrements are highly commended for stomach-complaints and all sorts of eruptions, including small-pox; the sap of excrements is an antidote, etc. Fresh faeces are applied to the bites of rabid dogs.

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1 汪機, also known as Sheng-chi 省之, an Æsculapius in the first half of the sixteenth century. Author of the *Pen-ts'ao hwui pien* 本草會編, or Collective Chapters on Botany, in twenty chapters, and of several other writings.

2 陶弘景曰、近城市人以空罌塞口、納糞中積年、得汁甚黑而苦、名爲黃龍湯。療瘟病、垂死者皆瘥。大明曰、臘月截淡竹、去青皮、浸滲取汁、治天行熱疾中毒、名糞清。浸皂莢甘蔗、治天行熱疾、名人中黃。震亨曰、人中黃以竹筒入甘草末于內、竹木塞兩頭、冬月浸糞缸中、立春取出、懸風處陰乾、破竹取草、晒乾用。汪機曰、用棕皮綿帋、上鋪黃土、澆糞汁淋土上、濾取清汁入新甕內。椀覆定埋土中一年、取出清若泉水、全無穢氣。年久者彌佳、比竹筒滲法更妙. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 52, ll. 10 *seq.*

Urine, especially of young boys, is used for the same categories of complaints. Head-ache, according to T'ao Hung-king, may be cured by drinking several cups of it, and Kheu Tsung-shih says that a cupful of tepid urine of a boy should be given to women after delivery, to expel the blood accompanying the after-birth [1]. Chu Chen-heng relates the following incident: "I often saw an "old woman over eighty, looking, however, not older than forty. "I asked how it was she looked so young; and I was then apprised "that she had suffered under a virulent disease, in which somebody "advised her to drink human urine; and having done so for more "than forty years, she was still strong and vigorous in spite of "her great age, and exempt from all disease" [2]. According to Li Shi-chen, "urine being the same matter as blood, it has a salt "taste, accelerates the circulation of the blood, and cures blood-"diseases" [3]. Besides for head-ache, it is deemed good for sore throat and fever, for worms, hemorrhage and constipation. The recipes make a clear distinction between the operation of the urine of others and that of the patient himself; and male persons ought to use that of females, but the fair sex that of men and boys.

The list of urinary recipes is long. In the event of a devil possessing a person and making him ill, he is to drink old urine in a far state of decay, from which the loathsome stench has been expelled a little by boiling. The contents of jars used as common urinals, are given to patients labouring under unquenchable thirst, but without their being told what they take, else the effect is naught. Sunstroke is cured by placing around the navel of the patient a ring of clay and urinating in it, so that the temperature of the fluid may get through the navel into the belly. So, also, it is a very old rescript to urinate swooned persons upon their face, to make them come round. Wounds and bruises, and bites of snakes and dogs are washed with boys' urine or with that of the patient himself, who is also to drink it in order to stop the effusion of

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1 *Ibid*, l. 14.

2 常見一老婦年逾八十、貌似四十。詢其故、嘗有惡病、人教服人尿、四十餘年矣、且老健無他病. *Ibid.*

3 小便與血同類也、故其味鹹而走血、治諸血病也. *Ibid.*

blood and heal the wound. For bites of snakes and insects, women's urine is preferred, and if old and putrid, it is considered to be better than fresh. To cure deafness, urine is trickled into the ears. Inflamed eyes are washed with it. When a fetus dies in the womb, it is expulsed by giving the mother the boiled urine of her husband to drink; and labouring women drink urine to alleviate their pains and accelerate their delivery.

White sediment of urine, called "internal white of men" [1], is scooped out from the large jars well known to the noses of travellers in China, which all classes keep in the house-rooms for the use of the family, and the putrid contents of which they sell for dung. This stuff is dried in the sun or in the wind, and used for much the same ends as urine itself. Urea, called autumn-stone or autumn-ice [2] from its being fabricated, on certain superstitious grounds, exclusively in autumn, is likewise a substitute for urine. "People of later times", says Li Shi-chen, "prepare by means of "fire a white substance from internal white of men, which they "call autumn-stone, saying it is produced from the remains of "the khi of the semen" [3]. In this passage, the animistic basis of the belief in the medical virtue of urea and urine is obvious. Urea is much used by sensualists to stir up their sexual lusts, it being considered to be imbued with yang matter on account of the affinity, stated above, of urine with blood or the soul. It is fabricated by the coction of urine, and by boiling the dregs thus formed, reiteratedly with clean water, till a snow-white sediment is obtained. "This, if taken for a long time, is a medicine for diseases "of all sorts. It strengthens the marrow of the bones, restores the "vital force (tsing) and the blood, opens the heart, increases "energy, and restores the temperature of the body, giving a "downward course to the sexual passions. He who swallows it long "enough, will always have under the navel a fiery or warm sensation "curing all cold diseases" [4]. It is taken mostly as a powder, or in

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1 人中白.

2 秋石 or 秋冰.

3 近人以人中白煉成白質、亦名秋石、言其亦出于精氣之餘也. *Ibid.*, l. 18.

4 久服去百病。强骨髓、補精血、開心、益志、補暖、下元悅色。進食久則臍下常如火暖、諸般冷病皆愈. *Ibid.*, l. 19.

pills. It is declared to prolong life and keep the individual young, especially when mixed beforehand with some milk of male persons.

Whereas parts of the human body owe their important place among medicines and prophylactics to the animation and vital power they are deemed to contain, it follows almost necessarily that such a place should be allotted also to the bones of the dead, for we need not repeat here again the inveterate belief of the Chinese in the animation of such human remains.

The head especially being believed to be animated, and mereover, identified with Heaven (see pp. 76 *seq.*), the skull naturally passes for a seat of the soul which Heaven has infused into the being. Hence it is termed in medical science: "the covercle of the celestial ling" [1]. Its animation is thought to be particularly strong at the sagittal suture, through which the heavenly soul enters the individual before or at his birth, when it is still an open fontanel. Li Shi-chen declares this spot to be "the place where the soul-powers accumulate" [2]. On the authority of earlier authors, he enumerates several diseases that may be cured with preparations from skull-bones. Against consumption, for instance, he recommends the following prescription from a renowned medical work of the T'ang dynasty [3]:

"Take three ounces of roasted human skull-bone, and ten "ounces of musk of the musk-deer; pound this mixture with a "thousand pestle-strokes, and make pills of it as big as t'ung "tree seeds; swallow seven such pills at once with some beverage "frequently every day; then, if a blue artery protrudes on your "breast, it should be pricked with a needle, and if the colour "of the blood is not black, you will be cured in seven days" [4]. "Ch'en Tsang-khi says: The best bones are those that are

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1 天靈蓋.

2 神靈所集. Ch. 52, l. 32.

3 Namely from the *Sui sin pi kih fang* 隨身備急方, "Ready and quick Medicaments to have always with you", by Chang Wen-chung 張文仲, a Court-physician of the empress Wu, originally in three chapters. See the Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 191, l. 13.

4 用人頭骨炙三兩、麝香十兩、爲末擣千杵、丸梧子大、每服七丸飲下日再服、若胸前有青脉出者以針刺着、血色未黑者七日瘥. *Op. et cap. cit.*, l. 33.

"thoroughly rotten. A fragment of three fingers' breadth should "be toasted over a dull, smothered fire for a night, till the "rancid, filthy stench is entirely expelled; with some boy's urine it "must then be cooked in an earthen pot for some time, and the "urine be poured off; subsequently, this bone is to be kept for a "time under the house in a pit of one chʻih, and the hwun, "contained in the medicine then made of it, will have the best "effect in bringing back the shen into patients. For a male "person female bone must be taken, and for a female person male "bone" [1].

Other bones may, of course, have quite as well a salutary effect upon the constitution of man. "Calcine bones of the dead, pulverize "them, and drink three tsʻien of the powder in alcohol when "your stomach is empty; then, if you receive a bastonade, your "skin will not blister, nor any tumors be produced by the blows. "And if you take the powder for a long time, your epidermis "will thicken [2]. Fragments of bones of the dead, burned and rubbed "into mixtures, are a shen-containing medicine for eruptions "on the shins in the regions where longevity reigns" [3]. Though allotting to these and other dictions of former doctors places in his renowned standard work, Li Shi-chen declares himself no zealous partisan for medical necrophagy. "The ancients", thus he argues, "considered interment of uncovered bones to be a work of philanthropy "and virtue, and still such bones are gathered for medicaments "for the sake of gain! Is this a humane application of our art? "Dogs eat no dogs' bones; may then men eat the bones of his

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1 陳藏器曰、凡用彌腐爛者乃佳。有一片如三指闊者取得用煻灰火煨一夜、待腥穢氣盡却、用童兒溺於甕鍋子中煮一伏時瀝出、於屋下掘一坑、深一尺、置骨於中一伏時、其藥魂歸神妙。陽人使陰、陰人使陽. *Ibid.*, l. 32.

2 燒過人骨爲末、空心酒服三錢、受杖不腫不作瘡。久服、皮亦厚也. *Ibid.*; from the *I lin tsih yao* 醫林集要, "Collection of important Things from the Forest of Medicine", by Wang Si 王璽, perhaps a grandee who died in 1488 and whose biography occurs in ch. 174 of the History of the Ming Dynasty.

3 臙瘡燒過人骨碎者爲末摻之、壽域神方. *Ibid.*

"fellow men?" [1] To emphasize the viciousness of such practices, he appeals to the following episode, recounted by Twan Ch'ing-shih: "A person in King-cheu, named Chang Ts'ih-ching, was an able "curer of wounds and cuts. A military man with an injured shin-"bone applied to him, to be cured. He gave him some medicinal "spirits to drink, and then ripping up his flesh, removed a piece "of broken bone, two fingers long; then he closed the wound "with some ointment, and in a few days everything was in its "former good condition. Then two years passed away, on which "the pain in the shin suddenly returned, and sent the patient "back to his surgeon to ask his advice. 'Whenever the bone I "extracted suffers from cold', thus spoke the latter, 'you must "feel pain; look it up immediately'. It was found under the "bed; and he ordered it to be washed with warm water and "to be put into some cotton, on which the pain vanished [2]. So "great a spiritual sympathy", thus Li Shi-chen exclaims, "was "displayed here; who will now pretend that dry bones have no "knowledge? This event must open the eyes of all who possess "humane feelings" [3].

Earth or dust from a cremation-place, being mixed with particles of the ashes of the corpse, is deemed good to re-animate persons lying in a trance or in a swoon, or labouring under any unconsciousness ascribed to a departure of their soul. "In cases of "catalepsy, when the patient seems to be dead and recognizes "nobody, two or three ts'ien of earth from a cremation-place "should be triturated, and a hot water extract of it be poured

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[1] 古人以掩暴骨爲仁德、利欲乃收人骨爲藥餌。仁術固如此乎。且犬不食犬骨、而人食人骨可乎. *Ibid.*, l. 31.

[2] 在荆州百姓張七政善治傷折。有軍人損脛、求張治之。張飲以藥酒、破肉去碎骨一片、大如兩指、塗膏封之、數日如舊。經二年餘脛忽痛復、問張。張言、前爲君所出骨寒則痛、可遽覓也。果獲於牀下、令以湯洗、貯於絮中、其痛卽愈. *Yu-yang tsah tsu*, ch. 5.

[3] 氣之相應如此、孰謂枯骨無知乎。仁者當悟矣. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 52, l. 32.

"into his mouth, on which he will come round immediately" [1].

It is probably owing to the general aversion, prevalent in ordinary times and circumstances, to mutilation of the dead, that we read so seldom of medicines made from undecayed corpses. Only one instance of it has come under our notice, namely in the *I yuen*, which states "that the corpse of King Fang", the great adept of occultism in the first century before Christ, "was still undecayed and complete "in the I hi period (405—418), and in every respect an undecayed, "rigid body, so that, human flesh being good for medicine, the "soldiery cut him into pieces" [2].

Before concluding this chapter, we may still call to mind that most closely connected with medical anthropophagy on animistic grounds, certain ideas and practices are which we mentioned in our First Book, in the first place (see pp. 327 *seq*), that parts of a coffin possess therapeutic virtue, and chips from it are used as a soul-restoring medicine. We annotated also in that same place of our work, and on some other pages (*e. g.* 381), that the cause of that phenomenon is this, that a coffin or grave is deemed to be thoroughly imbued with the shen of the corpse hidden in it, and to form with that corpse one homogenous animated substance, manifesting occasionally ling or soul-power. The reader further knows that plants growing on graves are likewise deemed inhabited by the souls of the buried. It is, in consequence, logical that to such plants, too, medical virtues should be ascribed. "Ch'en Tsang-khi "states about herbs from the grave of a woman who died in childbed, "that they should be plucked for the sore ulcers of her baby; without "looking behind, a decoction should be made of them to wash the "child with, which will be healed after being thus treated not more "than three times" [3]. But we must remark here that the circumstance, known to our readers (see p. 65), that the soul in the grave is considered to be the shen or yang soul, has caused leeches

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1 尸厥卒死不知人者、燒尸壠土二三錢擂細、湯泡灌之、卽活. *Op. cit.*, ch. 7, l. 8.

2 京房屍至義熙中猶完、具僵屍、人肉堪爲藥、軍士分割之. TS, sect. 坤輿, ch. 140.

3 產死婦人塚上草陳藏器曰、小兒醋瘡取之、勿回顧作湯浴之、不過三度瘥. *Pen-ts'ao kang muh*, ch. 21, l, 12.

and pathologists to base the medical virtue of things derived from a coffin or a grave, particularly on the reasoning that yang substance neutralizes and destroys yin spirits or kwei, and may therefore easily expel these also from patients whom they possess or harass. Such medicines therefore take us into the field of Exorcism, to which we will devote Part IV of this Book.

CHAPTER XV.

ON APPARITIONS, AND THEIR INFLUENCE UPON THE FATE OF MAN.

Our readers will, no doubt, remember that it is an old belief in China that the Universe is filled in all its parts with shen and kwei, constituents, respectively, of the Yang and the Yin or the two chief powers of the Cosmos, the dual operation of which is the Tao or Course of the Universe, by which all creation, evolution and destruction are produced (page 13). This great fundamental tenet of Animistic Philosophy naturally implies that those shen and kwei are the distributors of all good and evil, good and evil being, indeed, direct emanations from the Yang and the Yin, as well as everything that exists in the Universe. In other terms, the shen and the kwei were of old the authors and regulators of the good and the bad fate of everybody and everything.

The oldest direct reference to this belief occurs in the *Yih king*. This Classic says: "Great men assimilate their happiness and misfortunes with the kwei and the shen"[1]. One of the great doctrines of cosmogonic Philosophy, viz. that the Yang embraces more particularly the beneficient half of the Universe, and the Yin the non-beneficient half, would enforce the inference upon us that the shen, which are the yang spirits, are conceived to be exclusively beneficial, the kwei or yin spirits, on the other hand, to be evil ghosts. For such immutable logic, however, the ancient Chinese seem to have felt not much, for a fact it is that we find both good and evil ascribed by them to the two categories of spirits equally.

To prove that, in ancient China, the shen actually held a position as evil spirits, we need only refer to the evidence of a few old works. In the first place we may mention here the *Cheu li*, which acquaints us with a functionary denoted as "the Court-

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[1] 夫大人者與鬼神合其吉凶. Ch. 16. 文言傳.

"yard Officer, whose task it was to shoot down the birds of bad "omen to the royal residence, and who, when he had to do with "a shen, had to shoot at it with a bow generally used for shooting "at the moon during an eclipse, as also with wang arrows" [1] which served for shooting at the eclipsed sun. The Khienlung editors of that work are of opinion that the latter half of this passage was interpolated by Liu Hin [2], a scholar of repute living about the beginning of our era, the son of Liu Hiang. But still in this case the fact remains, that shen deemed to be evil spirits and, consequently, deserving to be shot at, were believed in in Liu Hin's time.

The curious *Shan-hai king*, teeming with notes on all sorts of marvellous, phantastic beings in countries near and distant, a work for which scholars generally claim a very high age, also makes mention of mischief-working shen. "In the mountains of "Hwai-kiang celestial shen reside, which have the shape of a "bull or cow, eight legs, two heads, and a tail like that of a "horse. Wherever they appear, the region falls a prey to soldiery [3]. "The nine mountains between the Shi-hu mount and the Wu-"kao mount cover a distance of 6900 miles; their shen have "forms human in every respect, but they possess goats' horns. "Whenever they appear, wind, rain and water cause damage [4]. "Shen named keng-fu move about constantly at a limpid, cool "pond which emits light whenever they enter or quit it; and "when they appear, the realm or the dynasty is overthrown" [5].

The *Tso ch'wen*, in its turn, represents the shen as capable of working evil as well as doing good, teaching us at the same time

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[1] 庭氏掌射國之夭鳥、若神也則以太陰之弓與枉矢射之. Chapter 37, ll. 43 *seq.*

[2] 劉歆.

[3] 槐江之山有天神焉、其狀如牛而八足二首馬尾。見則其邑有兵. Chapter II.

[4] 自尸胡之山至于無皋之山凡九山六千九百里、其神狀皆人身而羊角。是神也見、則風雨水爲敗. Chapter IV.

[5] 神耕父常游清冷之淵、出入有光、見則其國爲敗. Chapter V.

that they do so to punish crime and corruption, and to reward virtue. "In autumn, in the seventh month of the 32nd. year of "Chwang's reign (b. C. 661)", thus that work relates, "a shen "descended in Shen (a place in the state of Kwoh). Hwui, the "king, asked Kwo, the historiographer, what it came for, and he "replied: 'When a state is going to flourish, luminous shen "(ming-shen) descend to see to the blessings bestowed on it, "and when a state is tottering to its fall, the shen likewise "descend, to see to the evil inflicted on it. Thus it may occur that "states flourish by apparitions of shen, or that they perish thereby, "and cases of both sorts have come to pass in all the reigns of the "royal families of Yü, Hia, Shang and Cheu'. The king now asked "Kwo what he advised him to do. And the answer was: 'Present "to it its own proper offerings, which are those suited to the days "on which it comes'. And the king did so.

"After the historiographer was gone, he heard that the king of "Kwoh had asked that spirit for investiture (with new territory). "So he returned, and spoke: 'Kwoh will soon perish, for this realm "consults the shen about people-oppressing measures'. The shen "had been in Shen for six months, when the Ruler of Kwoh "ordered the sacrificer Ying, the superintendent of the ancestral "temple Khü, and the historiographer Yin to present a sacrifice "to it, on which the shen promised to endow him with new "territory. Yin, the historiographer, then said: 'Oh, Kwoh must "perish! I have heard that, when a state is to flourish, its Ruler "listens to his people, and when it is to perish, he listens to the "shen. The shen are intelligent, correct and impartial, and they "adjust their acts to the conduct of men; and therefore, how "could any new territory be obtained by Kwoh, a state so greatly "lacking in virtue?" [1]

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[1] 莊公三十二年秋七月有神降于莘。惠王問諸內史過曰是何故也、對曰、國之將興明神降之、監其德也、將亡神又降之、觀其惡也、故有得神以興、亦有以亡、虞夏商周皆有之。王曰若之何。對曰、以其物享焉、其至之日亦其物也。王從之。

內史過往、聞虢請命。反曰、虢必亡矣、虐而聽于神。神居莘六月虢公使祝應宗區史嚚享焉、

But for that all, if we admit that spectrophoby is as old as mankind, and that the ancient Chinese had k w e i long before they invented s h e n (s. page 8), it logically follows that the part of malevolent spirits must have been always acted amongst them especially by k w e i. The *Tso ch'wen* alone would quite suffice to prove this fact. We read in it, for instance, in the record of events in the year 534 b. C.: "Tsze-ch'an of the state of Ching was delegated to Tsin, "and found the Ruler of this kingdom in bad health. Han Süen- "tszĕ received the visitor, and said to him, privately: 'Our Ruler "has been lying ill now for three months; we have been all run- "ning about to the several places of sacrifice, but his condition has "got worse instead of better. Now he has dreamed that a yellow "bear entered the door of his chamber; what evil k w e i can "that be?'" [1]. It seems that Tszĕ-ch'an was taken in his time for a special expert in ghosts and spirits, for we read of him in the same section of the *Tso ch'wen*: "When he went to Tsin, Chao "King-tszĕ asked him: 'Can Poh-yiu have had the power to "become a k w e i (on his death)?' 'Yes', was the reply. 'When a "man is born, the first thing that develops in him is what we "call the p'o h; after his p'o h has been produced, we denote the "y a n g substance (that is in him) by the name of h w u n. Things "and matters of all sorts being thereupon used and handled by "him, the t s i n g or energy of his soul increases, so that his "h w u n and his p'o h become strong, in consequence of which he "comes into the possession of t s i n g quite sound and vigorous, "acquiring in this way a s h e n or m i n g. When an ordinary "man or woman dies a violent death, the h w u n and the p'o h "can continue to hang on that person, and thus they may form "a licentious evil being; how much more may we expect something "like that to have been the case with Liang Siao, who was even a "descendant of our former monarch, the Ruler Muh, and a grandson "of Tszĕ-liang, and a son of Tszĕ-'rh — all magnates of our realm

神賜之土田。史囂曰、虢其亡乎、吾聞之國將興聽于民、將亡聽于神、神聰明正直而壹者也、依人而行、虢多涼德其何土之能得。

[1] 鄭子產聘於晉、晉侯有疾。韓宣子逆客、私焉曰、寡君寢疾於今三月矣、並走羣望、有加而無瘳、今夢黃熊入於寢門、其何厲鬼也. The seventh year of the ruler Chao's reign.

"successively engaged in its government for three generations! Ching "is, in fact, not rich and great; it is even called an insignificant "state; yet a family which has held there the reins of government "for three generations, must have used and handled a vast number "of things and matters, and have thereby acquired a great deal "of soul-energy (tsing). His clan, moreover, was a large one, so "that he had plenty of help and support. Is it not quite reasonable "then that, on having died a violent death, he should be capable "of acting as a kwei?" [1]

It was, no doubt, his firm belief in the dangerous influence which kwei as well as shen may exercise at any time, which made Confucius, "on being asked by his disciple Fan-ch'i about wisdom, "declare, that it might be called wise to worship the kwei and "the shen, but to keep them also at a distance" [2]. All the above extracts combined, hardly give us more than a few chief traits of ancient Chinese lore about the influence of ghosts upon the fate of men, and other native books of pre-Christian time likewise are so destitute of passages that might increase our knowledge on the point, that it is not worth while to quote from them. Happily, Wang Ch'ung, the excentric sceptic of the first century of our era, devoted his pen to the subject, and making it a mark for his sarcastic criticisms, has preserved for us the knowledge of many notions of his time in regard of spirits. His writings place their author in a remarkable light for his bold denial of disembodied human souls being able to act as mischievous kwei, and he has conquered thereby a place in our esteem above other Chinese sages

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[1] 及子產適晉、趙景子問焉曰、伯有猶能爲鬼乎。子產曰、能、人生始化曰魄、既生魄陽曰魂、用物精多則魂魄强、是以有精爽至於神明、匹夫匹婦强死、其魂魄猶能馮依於人、以爲淫厲、况良霄、我先君穆公之胄、子良之孫、子耳之子、敝邑之卿從政三世矣、鄭雖無腆、抑諺曰蕞爾國、而三世執其政柄、其用物也弘矣、其取精也多矣、其族又大、所馮厚矣、而强死能爲鬼不亦宜乎. *Loc. cit.*

[2] 樊遲問知、子曰、敬鬼神而遠之可謂知矣. *Lun yü*, VI, 20.

of all epochs, not one of whom has shown independence of mind enough to go so far.

"Mankind", thus he wrote, "says, that a dead man becomes "a k w e i which, possessing intelligence, can injure others. But "when we put this tenet to the test by considering living beings "in general, we arrive at the conclusion that a dead man cannot "become a k w e i, and that, through lack of consciousness, he cannot "possibly cause any damage .... A man is a living being, and so "is an animal; an animal does not become a k w e i at its death, "and why then should this be the case with man only?" [1]. Now setting forth that the vital spirits of a man no longer exist on his death, just as little as the throbbing of his arteries, with which they are identic (comp. p. 11), his body, moreover, becoming then mere dust, Wang Chʿung concludes that there can be no question of his forming a k w e i. Indeed, thus he argues, a living man without ears and eyes possesses no more consciousness than there is in a plant or a tree; how then could he possibly have more of it when even his vital spirits have left him? So, when a k w e i or a s h e n appears, it cannot possibly be the ghost of a human being. And when we see a k w e i in human shape, it follows from this shape itself that it cannot be the soul of a dead man, it being absolutely impossible for a soul to appear in the shape of a body which is annihilated by the process of decay, even to the hair and the skin. No, thus our author concludes, "just as impos- "sible is it for a dead man to appear visibly by using the shape "of a living man, as it is for a living man to render himself "invisible by means of the soul (h w u n) of a dead man" [2].

Were men really to change into k w e i by their death, how then is it that k w e i are only occasionally seen by one or two at a time, instead of appearing at any moment and everywhere by whole legions, the world having in fact, since the separation of the primary chaos, been inhabited by myriads and myriads of

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[1] 世謂死人爲鬼、有知能害人。試以物類驗之、死人不爲鬼、無知不能害人。。。人物也、物亦物也、物死不爲鬼、人死何故獨能爲鬼. *Lun heng*, ch. 20, 論死篇.

[2] 夫死人不能假生人之形以見、猶生人不能假死人之魂以亡矣. *Ibid.*

men? Will-o'-the-wisps are, according to prevalent opinion, the blood of men who perished by steel in the battle-fields, and blood is the vital breath (tsing khi) of the living (comp. p. 80); — now then, never have such spectral flames been seen in human shape, for the blood producing them having no such form. All which facts tend to prove that a human ghost cannot have a human shape after death, so that kwei which occasionally appear in such a form, cannot be disembodied kwei of men.

Heaven and earth produce fire, but by no means can they make ashes of a burned-out fire flame up anew. How then could we, miserable creatures as we are, and not less unable to make ashes blaze, cause our own beings to re-appear when our lives are extinct? And admitting that it is the vital soul (tsing shen) which becomes a visible kwei when the body is annihilated, how then are we to explain the fact that kwei are seen in general with dresses and girdles on, although, to be sure, clothes and belts never possessed a vital soul? This mystery does not in the least lose its mysteriousness by taking into consideration that a man's vital soul is identic with the blood that sustains his body, for clothes and belts were never sustained by any blood.

On this, Wang Ch'ung passes to his second argument, viz. that disembodied human souls, did they really exist, would in no case have any knowledge or consciousness. Man's soul, says he, emerges at his birth from the Primeval Breath [1] in which it existed up to that moment in a state of perfect unconsciousness. There is, in consequence, no reason to believe its condition to be another when it is re-absorped by that Breath on his death. Besides, intelligence or knowledge are connected directly with the five Constant Matters which exist in a man because of their intensive relation with his five viscera (comp. page 26); indeed, his intelligence flares or fades according to whether his viscera are in a sound condition or unsound. Hence, no intelligence can possibly exist in a being whose viscera have rotted away along with his whole body.

But there is more. The condition a man is in when he dreams, does not differ from that in which a dead man is, as, in fact, dreaming occurs in a state of insensibility which, should there be no awakening from it, is death. From this fact we must infer, that just as little as a man, while dreaming, has recollection of what

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[1] 元氣.

he did when he was awake, a dead man can recall to his mind events of his life. We may speak and act beside a sleeping man, without his perceiving anything of it, and that notwithstanding his whole body and soul are present; so, *a fortiori*, we cannot possibly expect that, if we open the coffin of a dead man whose body and soul are gone, that man will observe the good and bad things we do. Had the dead really consciousness, then it would be the order of the day to see spirits of murdered people appear before terrestrial judges to betray their slayers; then, also, those whose bodies are lost would regularly appear to their kinspeople to tell them where to look for them.

Again, intelligence and consciousness exist in a living man on account of his vital soul (tsing shen) being composed and settled; and they fade and become confused in him under the slightest illness which disturbs that soul. Consequently, that same intelligence and consciousness cannot but wane totally when death, which is an ultimate stage of disease, dissolves the patient's soul entirely. Indeed, a man whose vital fire is extinguished, cannot by any means manifest intelligence, just as impossible as it is for an extinct fire to emit light. A clear proof that the dead are devoid of knowledge, we have in the fact that many widows and widowers freely re-marry, without their jealous first consorts showing any discontent at it, or inflicting any evil on them for it, and that though men and women are not, as a rule, much in the habit of leaving their consorts undisturbed during life, should they venture to indulge in familiarities or incest with others.

In support of the assertion that the dead have knowledge, it is often averred that from fields and plains where human bones lie unburied, plaintive sounds arise, which, when heard in the night, are taken for the voices of the dead. But this assumption cannot possibly be correct, the dead being incapable of emitting any sounds, as their throats are rotten, their tongues stiffened. Is it possible to produce musical notes through rotten flutes and pipes? Very likely the voices in question are natural sounds produced by the autumn, as "the breath or influence of that season can transform into plaintive and mournful sounds" [1]. Were they really voices of

[1] 秋氣爲呻鳴之變. The autumn is, indeed, the season of sorrow, dejection and melancholy, as life then vanishes from Nature, and decay and death set in. The character 愁, composed of heart or feelings (心) and autumn (秋), is one of the commonest graphic signs expressive of sorrow, and has the same pronunciation as the character for autumn, viz. ts'iu.

the dead, we should hear them at every step, the earth having been in course of time covered broadcast all over with thousands and myriads of unburied bodies. Living persons who could never speak, we may teach to speak; but never has it been possible to make a dead man utter a sound, and that notwithstanding he could speak before. Nor may we overlook the fact that our speech is produced by the vigour of our breath, and that our breath is a product of the food we take, so that, whereas a dead man cannot eat, it is also impossible for him to speak. But, thus some say, they feed themselves by inhaling the etherial parts (k h i) of food. Thus argumenting, they do not take into account that the souls of the living intrinsically are the same as those of the dead, so that, as the former would subsist on etherial substances of food hardly any longer than a day or three, the same must be the case with the latter.

Finally we come to Wang Ch'ung's third tenet, viz. that disembodied souls of men, admitting there exist any, are totally incapable to inflict harm on the living. Nobody, thus he discourses, can do evil unless he has strength combined with a good deal of passion or indignation; and of these two factors we may eliminate forthwith the second, as it is of no account where strength is lacking. And now, need it still proof that a dead man possesses no strength whatever, since he has no muscles, no arms that blow, no legs that kick, no teeth that bite? An infant, in fact, is more harmful than he, as it possesses such limbs and such teeth. Nor can we reasonably admit a dead man to be able to fly into a passion, seeing that insensibility of insult or injury prevailed in him already while ill, that is to say, still before life was extinct in him. No, thus our critic concludes, those spectres, those dreaded beings, cannot possibly be disembodied souls of men, but they are mere products of fiction; they are phantasms hatched by human brains, especially by those of the sick. A laid-up man naturally labours under fear and anxiety, and so, under the influence of his sufferings, he fancies he sees k w e i cudgel or fetter him, with increased ferocity as his illness increases. When those fears affect his eyes, he sees the spectres; when they work on his ears, he hears them; when they act upon his mouth, he talks of them. He sees them in the daytime, and he hears them in the night, just as the man who, finding himself in some solitary place, perceives spectres merely because of his anxiety and fright.

Thus roundly and categorically Wang Ch'ung denied the survival

of the human soul as a ghost or spectre after death, and least of all did he avow its survival as an entity possessed of consciousness or power for evil. Yet he did not pretend there exist no ghosts. "It is said", thus he wrote, "that kwei are living beings not "different from men, and that such beings exist in the Universe "generally beyond the frontiers to the four cardinal points, acting "as a nefarious class only when they frequent our Middle Kingdom "to move among men, on which occasions the sick and the mori- "bund see them. Among the beings living in the Universe we find "men shaped as birds or quadrupeds; so, also, there exist among "the evil beings which Heaven and Earth produce, bipeds and "quadrupeds with something like human forms. Hence it is that "people with an unlucky fate sometimes see flying corpses, or "running evil, or human forms — three sorts of things which are "kwei, also called sometimes hiung (evil), mei or ch'i. These "are living realities, by no means to be relegated to the realm of "chimeras and the shapeless. What to prove this from? Well, families "among the working class, thwarted by adversities, have seen flashes "of light conflue in their dwellings, which, though seen by some like "birds, were not stated to resemble birds or beasts on having flown "down into the hall or room. Thus, such beings possess a shape and, "consequently, they can take food; and being able to feed themselves, "they do exist, hale and sound, and therefore can give evidence "of their existence. In short, their bodies possess reality" [1].

Thus, in Wang Ch'ung's time, we see the shen and kwei

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[1] 一曰鬼者物也、與人無異、天地之間有鬼之物常在四邊之外、時往來中國與人雜則凶惡之類也、故人病且死者乃見之。天地生物也有人如鳥獸、及其生凶物亦有似人象鳥獸者。故凶禍之家或見飛尸、或見走凶、或見人形、三者皆鬼也、或謂之鬼、或謂之凶、或謂之魅、或謂之魑。皆生存實有、非虛無象類之也。何以明之。成事俗間家人且凶見流光集其室、或見其形若鳥之狀、時流入堂室察其不謂若鳥獸矣。夫物有形則能食、能食則便利、便利有驗。則形體有實矣. Ch. 22, 訂鬼篇.

divided positively into two broad classes, one having dwelled for a time in human bodies, and the other having never gone through a human existence. The ardour with which our critic combats the existence of the former category, removes all our doubt that the belief in it was very general; nay, we feel strongly tempted to admit, that this belief almost entirely eclipsed that in the other class, man living in a low sphere of thought being inclined to connect his thoughts of spirits principally with those of individuals he knew best, that is to say, his fellow-men. We have to lay special stress on this phenomenon, because it characterizes also the ideas of the Chinese people in subsequent ages and at the present day, in consequence of which its practices and observances with regard to ghosts, spirits and divinities have, in the main, always constituted a religion of disembodied human souls.

In perfect concord with the belief of his time that ghosts are for the most part souls of men, is the information, given us by Wang Ch'ung, that it was the rule then to represent them as appearing in a shape either entirely human, or partly so. "It is generally said", he writes, "that, just as good or bad prognostics "manifest themselves respectively when a man is to obtain hap- "piness or to incur misfortune, so apparitions in great variety are "seen when he is to die; and as k w e i are the constituents of "such apparitions, they manifest themselves in human shape. It "occurs, moreover, that they announce coming events by imitating "human voices, so that in this respect, too, their manifestations "do not take place without some human form. Evil apparitions in "the Universe are not altogether uniform. There can be evil-announcing "words, sounds or letters, and it may also occur that an evil breath "or vapour assumes a human shape, or that a man becomes an "evil spook by inhaling such breath. So far for the k w e i that "haunt in human forms" [1].

The books produced in times subsequent to Wang Ch'ung's teach

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[1] 一曰人且吉凶妖祥先見、人之且死見百怪、鬼在百怪之中、故妖怪之動象人之形。或象人之聲爲應、故其妖動不離人形。天地之間妖怪非一。言有妖、聲有妖、文有妖、或妖氣象人之形、或人含氣爲妖。象人之形諸所見鬼是也. *Loc. cit.*

us on many a page, that apparitions in human form passed in many, if not in most cases, for forebodings of evil. And it is by no means works of an inferior sort, or devoted specially to the fabulous and marvellous, that supply us here with instances. Even historical books of the highest order abound therewith, thus affording unmistakable evidence that the belief in anthropomorphous evil spectres was always professed in China even by highly cultivated minds. We will give here three examples from those standard works. Of one Siao Hwui-ming [1], a grandee flourishing under the Sung dynasty, we read: "In the first year of the T'ai shi "period (A. D. 465) he was prefect of Wu-hing (prov. of Cheh-"kiang). On the frontiers of that region, at the foot of mount Pien, "stood a temple, dedicated to Hang Yü [2]. On entering upon his "functions, Hwui-ming was apprised that this being often put "up in the hall where the judicial sessions of the prefecture used "to be held, and that, on this account, the prefects had now and "then lacked the courage to enter it. But he said: 'It is stated in "the records that, since Khung Ki-kung administered this prefecture, "no calamity is known to have befallen it'; and he set out a "sumptuous repast, and received guests to partake of it. After some "days, a human being appeared, upward of a chang in length, "with a drawn bow and an arrow. Having pointed this at Hwui-"ming, it disappeared from his view and then shot him in his back, "from the effects of which he died in some ten days" [3].

About the year 475, Tao Tun [4] was Governor of the distant southern provinces. "Some members of his family, living in the "Imperial Capital, once came home from the country in the dark, "and perceived two or three men, who were whitewashing their

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[1] 蕭惠明.

[2] A warlike grandee of the third century before our era, famous as one of the destroyers of the Ts'in dynasty. He always was an object of very extensive worship.

[3] 泰始初爲吳興太守。郡界有卞山、山下有項羽廟。相承云、羽多居郡聽事、前後太守不敢上。惠明謂、綱紀曰、孔季恭嘗爲此郡未聞有災、遂盛設筵榻接賓。數日見一人、長丈餘、張弓挾矢。向惠明、既而不見、因發背、旬日而卒. History of the South, ch. 18, l. 6.

[4] 到遁.

"house-door and vanished at the same moment. Next day Tao "Tun was dead" [1].

Of Yang Shen-king [2], one of the highest dignitaries under the T'ang dynasty, we read: "When he was in Wen-t'ang, it came "to pass that, while at table, he saw a spectre, more than a chang "in length, with a white coat and a cap on, standing behind the "door. Shen-king hooted at it for a long time, but it did not "disappear; nor did it vanish until he had thrown some hot soup "at it. He died in a prison, in which he was confined without "having committed any crime" [3].

That the shape attributed to ghosts and spirits, to the good as well as the bad, was in China throughout all times mostly that of man, the reader will still see come out so often in this work, especially in its next Part, that it is perfectly superfluous to state it here in advance by documentary evidence. At the same time, evidence will be adduced in profusion from tradition and narrative, that a ghost in general is deemed to retain, together with its former human shape, the peculiarities of the body it used to dwell in, its features, dress, demeanour, gait, and speech. So, also, if the body was maimed or deprived of a limb, the ghost wanders about with the same mutilation. Popular imagination in China seems to be haunted rather much by headless souls of decapitated men, a class of spectres of which we said already a few words on page 355 of Book I. Pictures and plates almost always represent ghosts as anthropomorphous (s. the Frontispiece). The evil-doing are given ugly, hideous countenances, dishevelled hair, and a deep colour; the benevolent and good ghosts, however, are depicted with forms and features hardly different from the ordinary human being.

The countless apparitions of which Chinese books relate, were not altogether causes or forebodings of evil. A great number of tales tell of spirits visiting men with a most benevolent intent, as to

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[1] 遁家人在都從野夜歸、見兩三人持壐刷其家門、須臾而滅。明日而遁死. *Op. cit.*, ch. 25, l. 6.

[2] 楊愼矜.

[3] 初愼矜至溫湯正食、忽見一鬼物、長丈餘、朱衣冠幘、立於門扇後。愼矜叱之良久、不滅、以熱羹投乃滅。無何下獄死. Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 105, l. 13.

give them useful advice in their emergencies, or to present them with medicines, otherwise unobtainable, for their sick people, or to foretell them certain events; or to reveal to them how to escape misfortune and ensure their felicity. It is in particular its own family a spectre pays such visits to, for family-ties death does not tear. We read touching stories of children suffering intolerable ill-treatment from their step-mother, and resorting to their own mother's tomb to give vent to their despair; they were caressed and soothed there by her ghost, and received from it a verse so perfectly heart-rending, as to tame the atrocious woman at home immediately and for good. Other deceased mothers have appeared before their children's step-mother to tell her categorically to stop her cruel conduct; else, they said, they would send down upon her the punishments of the Nether-world. One of those tales makes the mother put up for a considerable time in her old home in a visible shape; she is regaled there sumptuously by the step-mother and her husband, and seen off in the end by the whole family and a crowd of spectators, before whose eyes she strides to her grave and sinks down into it.

There is still a third class of apparitions, which cause neither good, nor evil. To the three classes the learned Han Yü referred in the following terms: "When man opposes Heaven, or thwarts "the interests of the people, or when he wrongs living beings, or "acts contrary to the duties imposed by the human relations, or "under the dominion of his anger — in such cases the kwei "avail themselves of shapes and voices, in order to do retributive "justice and send down disasters and misfortunes upon him. So, "such evils are produced by man himself.... This explains why "it is that the intercourse kept up by spirits with the people by "means of apparitions, is not a continuous intercourse, and that, "when they move among the people, they may either distribute "happiness, or cause misfortune, or do neither" [1].

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[1] 人有忤於天、有違於民、有爽於物、逆於倫而感於氣、於是乎鬼有託於形、有彊於聲以應之而下殃禍焉。皆民之爲也。。。故其作而接於民也無恒、故有動於民而爲福、亦有動於民而爲禍、亦有動於民而莫之爲禍福. *Han Ch'ang-li sien-sheng ts'üen tsih*, ch. 11, 原鬼.

Wanderings of spirits among the living to do them neither good, nor evil, are not always purposeless. We read of men who, having died in some distant region, visited their relations to inform them of this, and even transported them to their funeral. "Under the "Sung dynasty (fifth cent.) there was a student studying in some "distant place. His parents (at home) had lighted their lamp and "begun to do their evening work, when their son appeared before "them, sobbing and sighing. 'I merely am a ghost', he said, 'and "no reborn man'. On their asking him to explain himself, he "replied: 'In the first days of this month I fell ill, and I died "to-day at so much o'clock. My son, who holds office in Lang-yé, "has a grave ready for me, and is going to bury me to-morrow, "and here I am to take you thither. Outside the door stands "a car for you; mount it, and it will convey you to the spot "spontaneously'. The parents got into it with their son, and "suddenly felt as in a doze; and when the cock crew, they found "themselves in the place designed. Here they became aware that "the vehicle was a soul-car, and that the horses were of wood. "They visited the director of the mourning-rites, and attended "the death-howl of the children; and then inquiring about the "illness of the deceased, they learned that everything had taken "place as the latter himself had related to them" [1].

Visits are paid by the dead to the living to bid them farewell and discourse with them about their domestic concerns; to enjoy the sexual pleasures of married life; to satiate the curiosity of their kinsfolk by telling them about their adventures, fate and prospects in the other world; to tell them what measures they ought to take to alleviate their misery and improve their condition there. Not seldom they appear just when sacrifices are set out for them, attracting them by their savour to the ancestral home. We read

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[1] 宋時有諸生遠學。其父母燃火夜作、兒忽至前歎息。曰、今我但魂爾、非復生人。父母問之、兒曰、此月初病、以今日某時亡、今在瑯邪任子成冢、明日當殮、來迎父母、外有車乘、但乘之自得至矣。父母從之上車、忽若睡、比雞鳴已至所在。視其駕乘但魂車木馬。遂與主人相見臨兒悲哀、問其疾消息如言. *Shen shen heu ki.* ch. 3.

of apparitions the ghostly character of which was betrayed afterwards by a paper comb, a shoe, or some other object of the same material being left behind by the spectre, or by the metamorphosis of gold or silver bestowed by it upon the person visited, into clay or into paper counterfeit money. Presents, on the other hand, given to such spectres, were found again in their tombs. In short, the spectre-tales, in their infinite variety, show unmistakably that whatever adventures of ghosts with men, and of men with ghosts, imagination in China may contrive, general opinion accepts as realities and perfect possibilities. We do not even go too far when we admit, that it is not dreams and dysaesthesia alone which in China evoke spirits, but that every thought of a dead man or a ghost is there an actual apparition to the individual whose brains it crosses.

Among the countless tales of apparitions, we find many which relate of dead men or women returning to their home for amical intercourse with relations and friends, thus to continue to some extent their former life. So we read of "one Ching Tsung, a "literary graduate of the highest rank, who refused to depart from "home for an official preferment on account of the illness of his "concubine. This woman, however, said: 'You are not entitled to "decline preferment on account of one woman', and she insisted "so urgently on his going, that he gave in and entered the Capital. "Next spring, an inferior graduate travelling eastward for home, "visited his house, and found the concubine dead and buried. Ten "months passed away, and Tsung went to bed in the dead of night, "when he heard human footsteps outside the apartment. He opened "the door, and lo, there was the deceased woman. He told her "to walk in and sit down, and asked her what she wanted. Nothing "she asked for but some tea of good quality, which Tsung "himself made for her; and when she had drunk some, he wanted "to call their sleeping infant-daughter and show it her; but she told "him not to do so, the child being so young and so easily frightened. "With these words she bade him farewell, and no sooner was she "out of the door than she vanished from view" [1].

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[1] 進士鄭總以妾病欲不赴舉。妾曰、不可爲一婦人而癈舉、固請之、總遂入京。其春下第東歸及家、妾卒既葬。旬月後夜深偶來寢、聞室外有人行聲。開戶觀之、乃亡妾也。召入室而坐、問

Still pithier is the following tale. "In the Kien yuen period "(A. D. 479—483), one Yü Ch'ung was drowned in Kiang-cheu. "That same day he went straightway to his house, remaining there "visible in quite the same shape he had when he lived, and "much frequenting the chamber of his wife, a Mrs. Yoh. This "woman at first dreaded his visits so much, that she always called "her maids to keep her company; but by-and-by this precaution "slackened, and once, when he came, he stormed furiously, exclaiming: "'I crave for sexual intercourse with the living, and am suspected "of malignity; is this the way to encourage my love for home?' "And up in the air the maids in the inner apartment saw their "spinning-wheels fly; somebody pulled their things into disorder and "threw the women on the floor, so that, panic-struck, they sought "shelter outside. After this feat, the ghost's visits became more "frequent. They had a son, just three years old. Once this child "asked his mother for something to eat, but the woman said: 'I "have no money; where shall I get food from?' These words "afflicted the ghost. Stroking the head of the child, he said: "'Unfortunately I had to leave you so untimely in misery and "poverty'; and suddenly he re-appeared with two hundred coins, "which he placed before his wife, saying: 'Here is money to buy "food with for our child'. In this way he went on for more than "a year, when the woman became reduced to such dire poverty "that she could not help herself any longer. Then the ghost spoke: "'In spite of your preserving the purity of your widowhood so "well, you remain so poor, so miserable; I have better take you "with me'. And not long after, the woman sickened and died, "and the spectre was then heard of no more" [1].

其所要。但求好茶、總自烹與之、啜訖總以小兒女已睡欲呼與相見、妾曰不可、傑年少恐驚之。言訖辭去、纔出戶不見. *Wen khi luh* 聞奇錄 or "Record of the strange Things I heard of", written, according to the *Wen hien t'ung khao* (ch. 215, l. 13), towards the close of the T'ang dynasty by some unknown author. A copy which I possess, states it was compiled by one Yü Tih 于逖; it contains forty-four tales and notes, but the above tale is not among them. We borrow it from the K K, ch. 352.

[1] 庾崇者建元中于江州溺死。爾日卽還家、見形一如平生、多在妻樂氏室中。妻初恐懼、每呼諸從女作伴、于是作伴漸疎、時或暫來、輒恚罵

It is not only the male sex among spectres who thus visit the living for gratification of their lusts. The fair indulge in such irregularities as well. "The wife of a prefect of the Sin-fan district "having died, his young daughter was still busily engaged in "making mourning-clothes, when a woman appeared, all elegance "and beauty. The prefect was much charmed with her, and he "kept her with him, overwhelming her with favours and love; but "when some months had passed away, she, one fine morning, bade "him farewell in a stammering voice, with sorrowful mien. The "prefect, astonished, asked her what was the matter. 'My husband', "she said, 'is coming, and so I am to travel far away from you; it is "that which makes me so sorry'. Impossible it was to prevail upon "her to stay. Leaving behind a silver wine-cup, she took leave, "with the words: 'You will make me very happy by thinking "often of me; take this in remembrance'. And she started with "ten pieces of silk, which the prefect gave her. Since that moment, "the prefect's thoughts always dwelled on that woman. Her silver "cup was never out of his hands, and whenever he went to his "Yamen-hall, he placed it there on the table.

"The military commander in that same district had finished his "functions and returned to his native place; but having left his "wife's encoffined corpse in Sin-fan, he now made the long voyage "back to fetch it. On this occasion he sent in his card to the "prefect, who received him very hospitably. The silver cup drew "his attention. He looked askance at it over and over again, and on "being asked by the prefect what he did so for, he said: 'This is "a thing from my wife's coffin; I do not understand how it gets "here'. The prefect sighed for some moments, and then told him "the story from the beginning to the end, adding some details

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云、貪與生者接耳、反致疑惡、豈副我歸意耶。從女在內紡績忽見紡績之具在空中、有物撥亂、或投之於地、從女怖懼皆去。鬼卽常見。有一男纔三歲。就母求食、母曰無錢、食那可得。鬼乃悽愴。撫其兒頭曰、我不幸早世令汝窮乏、忽見將二百錢置妻前、云、可爲兒買食。如此經年、妻轉貧苦不立。鬼云、卿旣守節而貧苦若此、直當相迎耳。未幾妻得疾亡、鬼乃寂然. *Yiu ming luh*; K K, ch. 322.

"about that woman's shape and features, her voice and gesture, and "informing him that, on her leaving behind that cup, he had "presented her with some silk fabrics. These revelations made the "commandant's blood boil for the whole day. He opened the coffin, "and seeing the woman lying in it with the silk in her arms, his "anger rose to such a pitch that he had a pile of fuel made, and "burned her on it" [1].

Other enamoured female ghosts showed themselves more decent and more correct in conduct, acting remarkably fashionably in ensuring free course to their love by having themselves formally united by their family in marriage with their beloved one. "In the first year of the "T'ien pao period (A.D. 742), an archivist in Hwui-khi, Ki Yiu "by name, possessed two daughters and had adopted in his house "an orphan daughter of his sister. Officials came to marry them, "and Ki Yiu first gave them his own daughters; but then there "were no more suitors for the sister's child, who felt so much "aggrieved at it that she died of a broken heart.

"Her coffin was stored away in the eastern suburb. Several "months elapsed, when a mandarin's clerk employed in the street "in which the Archivist lived, a young member of the strong "Yang clan, of a very rich family and, moreover, a handsome "fellow, was suddenly missed. Search gave no result, and as it was

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[1] 新繁縣令妻亡、少女工作凶服中、有婦人婉麗殊絶。縣令悅而留之、甚見寵愛、後數月一旦慘悴言辭頓咽。令怪而問之。曰、本夫將至、身方遠適、所以悲耳。止之不可。留銀酒杯一枚爲別、謂令曰、幸甚相思、以此爲念。令贈羅十疋去。後恒思之。持銀杯不捨手、每至公衙即放案上。

縣尉已罷職還鄉里、其妻神柩尚在新繁、故遠來移轉。投刺謁令、令待甚厚。尉見銀杯。數竊視之、令問其故、對云、此是亡妻棺中物、不知何得至此。令嘆良久、因具言始末、兼論婦人形狀音旨及留杯贈羅之事。尉憤怒終日。後方開棺、見婦人抱羅而臥、尉怒甚、積薪焚之. *Kwang i ki*, quoted in the KK, ch. 335. This tale occurs also in the *Kwei tung*, ch. 2.

"surmised that some mei-spectre had enticed him away, he was "sought for in the burial grounds. There, on the snow which "had fallen thickly, the lapel of a coat was visible from the "shed in which the girl's coffin stood. The family of the young "man pulled at it, and heard his voice in the shed, and yet "the building was in a perfectly sound condition, so that no "opening was to be seen through which he could have entered. "Hastily they apprised the Archivist of their discovery, who "had the coffin opened; and lo, they found the girl in it "asleep with the clerk. Her features looked as if she lived. The "family drew the clerk away, and restored the shed to its former "condition.

"When he came out of the coffin, the clerk behaved like an "idiot, but in a few days he recovered. Then the girl addressed "the Archivist in terms somewhat like the following: 'I bear "a grudge against you because you did not give me a hus- "band; while you cared for nothing but the marriage of your "own daughters, you forgot me, so that I died of intense grief. "But it is now decreed by the Tao directed by the shen, that I "shall marry the clerk of our street. I have already once drawn "him to me and lain with him under one bed-cover, and as "the whole town knows this, propriety demands our being married. "Consummate our marriage on the first of next month, and let "not the clerk select an auspicious day, for this would be contrary "to the Tao directed by the shen. Propose to him to make me "his wife; then announce our marriage to the family, receive his "betrothal money, and treat him with the ceremonial due to a "son-in-law. And prepare drink and food on the first of the "month, for I will receive him as my husband on that day. I hope "he will accept your proposal'.

"The affrighted Archivist heaved a sigh. He called the clerk, "and asked him what he thought of it; and the family of the "latter having paid for him some ten thousand coins for betrothal "money, the respective parents had an interview together. And "Ki Yiu had clothes and bed-curtains made for his sister's "daughter, and on the first of the month he prepared dainties, "and arranged another great meeting with the Yang family; and "then her ghost spoke to him: 'It is by your goodness that I can "marry him; I am quite overjoyed at this day enabling me to "meet my Yang'. No sooner were these words uttered than the "clerk suddenly expired. They then performed the ceremonies of

"a wedlock in the Nether-world [1], and having provided a coffin and "the other funeral requisites in a liberal way, they interred the two "corpses in one grave in the eastern suburb" [2].

In their intercourse with the living, the spirits of the dead occasionally perform astounding feats. "Ma Chung-shuh and Wang "Chi-tu, two Liao-tung men, having made acquaintance with each "other, became extremely intimate. Chung-shuh died first. Next year "he appeared to his friend and said: 'Unfortunately I died early, "and my thoughts dwell on you constantly; and when I ponder over "your bachelorhood, I come to the conclusion that I must get you "a wife. On the 20th. of the eleventh month I will send one to "your house. Sweep everything there clean and neat, make a bed "with a sleeping-mat ready for her, and wait'.

"That day came, and Chi-tu secretly swept, and put the things "in order, when suddenly a gale arose, covering the sun and "darkening the day. Towards sunset the wind abated, and on a "sudden a red curtain suspended itself spontaneously in the bedroom. "Chi-tu lifted it up, and looking behind it, saw a woman in bed,

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1 Comp. Book I, pp. 802 *sqq.*

2 天寶初會稽主簿季攸有女二人、及携外甥孤女。之官有求之者則嫁已女、已女盡而不及甥、甥恨之、因結怨而死。

殯之東郊。經數月、所給主簿市胥吏姓楊、大族子也、家甚富、貌且美、其家忽有失胥。推尋不得、意其爲魅所惑也、則於墟墓訪之。時大雪而女殯室有衣裾出。胥家人引之、則聞屋內胥叫聲、而殯宮中甚完、不知從何入。遽告主簿、主簿使發其棺、女在棺中與胥同寢。女貌如生。其家乃出胥、復修殯屋。

胥既出如愚、數日方愈。女則不直於主簿曰、吾恨舅不嫁、惟憐已女、不知有吾、故氣結死、今神道使吾嫁與市吏、故輒引與之同衾、既此邑已知、理須見嫁、後月一日可合婚姻、惟舅不以胥吏見期而違神道、請、卽知聞、受其所聘、仍待以女壻禮、至月一日當具飲食、吾迎楊郎、望伏所請焉。

"pretty and charming, and dressed beautifully. She was sleeping, "and her palpitation could just be discerned. Every one, both "in-doors and abroad, was in great consternation, and nobody "ventured to approach her, except Chi-tu. At that juncture "the woman awoke, and sat up. 'Who are you?' asked Chi-tu. "'I am from Honan', she answered, 'where my father is prefect "of Ts'ing-ho. I was going to be married, but find myself suddenly "here, without knowing how or why'. Chi-tu told her what he "thought of it, on which the woman replied: 'So it is Heaven's "will that I shall be your wife'. And they became a married "couple, and they visited her family, who, quite delighted to "see her again, likewise judged that it must be Heaven that "united them. She afterwards had a son, who became prefect of "Nan-kiün" [1].

Sceptic readers may discern in this tale a case of elopement or abduction, cunningly put down to a spirit. But it is certainly not from such a stand-point that the Chinese view it, and we have to

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主簿驚歎。乃召胥一問、爲楊胥於是納錢數萬、其父母皆會焉。攸乃爲外甥女造作衣裳帷帳、至月一日又造饌大會楊氏、鬼又言曰、蒙恩許嫁、不勝其喜今日故此親迎楊郎。言畢胥暴卒。乃設冥婚禮、厚加棺斂、合葬於東郊. K K, ch. 333.

[1] 馬仲叔王志都並遼東人也、相知至厚。叔先亡。後年忽形見、謂曰、吾不幸早亡、心恒相念、念卿無婦、當爲卿得婦、期至十一月二十日送詣卿家、但掃除、設牀席待之。

至日都密掃除施設、天忽大風、冒日晝昏。向暮風止、寢室中忽有紅帳自施。發視其中、牀上有一婦、花媚莊嚴。臥牀上、纔能氣息中表。內外驚怖、無敢近者、惟都得往。須臾便蘇起坐。都問、卿是誰。婦曰、我河南人、父爲清河太守、臨當見嫁、不知何由忽然在此。都具語其意、婦曰、天應令我爲君妻。遂成夫婦、往詣其家、大喜、亦以爲天相與也。遂與之生一男、後爲南郡太守. *Yiu ming luh*: K K, ch. 322.

take the tale as a proof of the implicit trust they place in the possibility of such things. Here is, in conclusion, another queer little story of wonderful intervention of a kindly-minded ghost:

"In the Tung-yang region, one Chu Tszĕ-chi kept a spectre "who regularly frequented his house. Once when his child suf- "fered from a pain at the heart, that spectre said to it: 'I will "get you a medicine, namely the warm testicles of a tiger; they "will cure you when you take them with some beverage. Get me a "big lance, and I will go and fetch them'. The family gave him such "a weapon, and he went off with it. After a little time he was "back again, and placing the lance in the courtyard, threw the "testicles on the ground; and they were still warm" [1].

Souls of the dead having always been believed in China to dwell preferably in graves, it is quite natural that authors of spirit-tales should often make the living and the dead meet there in joyful company. A favourite topic to them is, in fact, people going astray or overtaken by the shades of night, having to put up in some shed or cabin that chances to stand by the roadside, to find there liberal hosts or hostesses and, occasionally, further good company, with whom they indulge in agreeable conversation on human and spiritual topics, passing the time in eating, drinking, sleeping and sexual intercourse, to awake suddenly to reality and see themselves on or in a tomb, or to find later on, on returning to the spot, a grave without a trace of a human dwelling. Some ten of such tales we have before us; but as they shed no new light on our subject, we abstain from doing more than mentioning their existence.

The common term used in books to denote apparitions, is kwai 怪, a word meaning in general all that is strange and queer, or diverting from the ordinary course of things. There exist shen kwai or apparitions of shen, tsing kwai or apparitions of tsing, and kwei kwai or apparitions of kwei. The act of haunting is expressed generally by the term tsoh kwai 作怪 or wei kwai

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[1] 東陽郡朱子之有一鬼、恒來其家。子之兒病心痛、鬼語之、我爲汝尋方、云燒虎丸、飲卽瘥、汝覓大戟與我、我爲汝取也。其家便持戟與鬼、鬼持戟去。須臾還、放戟中庭、擲虎丸著地、猶尙暖. *Ts'i hiai ki*; K K, ch. 318.

爲怪, "to produce or make apparitions". To denote that a k w a i bears a malevolent character, the word y a o 妖, meaning ominous, ill-boding or evil-producing, is often prefixed to it, but this word alone is used also substantively for spooks. The apparition of a ghost is very generally expressed also by the term 見, "to be seen" or "to become visible", or by 見形, "to show shape".

From nothing does it appear that the schoolmen of the Sung dynasty, so deeply versed as they were in the art of explaining by floods of words the profoundest mysteries about the human soul, ever doubted the possibility of its living forth among men. Chu Hi dispelled for good all scepticism on this point by one flash of his bright intelligence. These are that Master's own wise words: "The breath (k h i) of the k w e i of a human being may dissolve "either slowly or quickly. Should it occur that a man is not "overpowered by his death, then that breath may remain un- "dissolved after his death, and form a y a o or a k w a i (that is to "say, it may haunt). Non-dissolution is frequent in cases of "demise under unhappy circumstances or by some disaster, or at the "death of Buddhist or Taoist clergymen, [these people doing their "best to nourish their vital soul (t s i n g s h e n) in such a manner "that it condenses, but does not dissolve].... Once our Sage was "asked: '(According to the *Yih king*, s. page 13) the wandering "h w u n produce evolutions; how then is it that the evil-doing among "them do not dissolve by that wandering-process?' On this he "answered: 'That word wandering must be taken in the sense of "a slow and gentle dissolution. Such evil-doing h w u n for the most "part are those of individuals who did not die (absolutely), and "whose breaths did not dissolve, so that they became evil-doing "through the process of condensation" [1].

Nor did Chu Hi rise above the superstitions of the simplest minds by calling into doubt the domineering influence of s h e n

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[1] 人鬼之氣其消散亦有久速之異。人有不伏其死者、所以既死而此氣不散、爲妖爲怪。如人之凶死及僧道、既死多不散[僧道務養精神、所以凝聚不散]。。。問遊魂爲變、問有爲妖孽者是如何得未散。曰、遊字是漸漸散、若是爲妖孽者多是不得其死、其氣未散、故鬱結而成妖孽.
Sing-li ta ts'üen shu, ch. 28, ll. 13 and 16.

and kwei over the human fate. He and his school could not, in truth, possibly abnegate that influence, since the infallible *Yih king* had most positively stated its existence by declaring that "the great assimilate their fortunes and misfortunes with the kwei and the shen" (s. page 407). Likewise did Chu Hi remain in perfect accordance with the conceptions of the ancients by preaching that the power of ghosts over man's fate is controlled and guided by a still higher power. "Such things as unfelicitous or felicitous influences "exercised by kwei and shen, by which misfortune or felicity "is brought forth" — thus he prattled — "cannot be subjected to "a thorough discussion unless we view them in their connection "with the laws or principles (li) that dominate the Universe. "Man lives under the sway of those principles just as the kwei "and the shen do, nay, just as Heaven and Earth; and as "there is nothing in those principles which is not good and "beneficial, any one whose deeds are in accordance with them "must have a happy fate, while a man's fate must be unhappy "when he behaves contrary to them. This reasoning holds good "also of felicity and misfortune (they being emanations of a good "or a bad fate); how then can we suppose that Heaven and Earth "on their side, and the kwei and the shen on theirs, ever act "of their own accord in sending down felicity and misfortune?

"Those ideas we find expressed in the *Shu king* and in the "*Yih king*: — 'It is the Course or Way (Tao) of Heaven to give "felicity to the good and to bring misfortune over the bad', thus "says the first-named work [1]; and the other Classic says: 'The "kwei and the shen harm the proud and render the modest "happy' [2]. The proud here are those who oppose those li, and who "must necessarily incur evil for it, while the modest are those who "act in accordance with the li, and are to receive blessings for "such conduct. If such is the course of things, the principles of "the Tao are in mutual harmony. After all, how can the opinion "prevail that the kwei and the shen send down felicity and "misfortune (of their own accord)?" [3]

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1 In the 湯誥 section.

2 Chapt. 9, sect. 彖上.

3 至言鬼神禍福凶吉等事、此亦只是以理言盡.人與鬼神天地同此一理、而理則無有不善、

The reader will see at a glance, that these reasonings move perfectly within the orbit of the fundamental principle of ancient and modern Taoism, formulated by us on pp. 935 and 936 of Book I, according to which the fate of the world and mankind depends entirely on the principles or laws (li) that govern the Cosmos or constitute its Tao or Course, so that the wise and the happy exclusively are those who live therewith in perfect harmony. We thus see Chu Hi take the kwei and the shen, in their capacity of distributors of misfortune and felicity, for agents of the universal li, thus suscribing at once to another classical thesis accepted by his school as standard truth, according to which those beings constitute the Yang and the Yin, that is to say, the regulators of the Tao (see page 13). But the Tao is in the first place the power that rules heaven, the earth being an unmovable, inert mass. So, the tenet is mostly and rationally formulated thus, that the kwei and the shen distribute no good or evil unless with the knowledge and explicit permission of the Tao of heaven, the T'ien Tao [1], or — what is much the same thing — the animated Heaven.

Leaving aside for the present moment the question what this supreme Power is conceived to be, we must here lay stress upon the fact that the above tenet forms one of the principal articles of China's ancient and modern spirit-lore. Clear illustrations of her belief in the infliction of punishments by spirits thus acting with direct authorisation of Heaven, we have already in the *Tso ch'wen.* "The Ruler of Tsin (Hwui [2]) having transferred the body of the "Crown-prince Kung [3] to another grave (in b. C. 650), it happened "that Hu-tuh, while travelling to the minor capital in the autumn

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人能順理則吉、逆理則凶。其於禍福亦然、此豈謂天地鬼神一一下降於人哉。

且如書稱、天道福善禍淫、易言、鬼神害盈而福謙、亦只是這箇意思。蓋盈者逆理者也、自當得害、謙者順理者也、自應獲福。自是道理合。如此、安有此謂鬼神降之哉. *Sing-li ta ts'üen shu*, ch. 28, l. 18.

[1] 天道. [2] 惠.

[3] His elder brother, named Shen-sheng 申生, who, being excluded from the succession to the throne, had committed suicide.

"of that year, met with that prince, who told him to get up in "his carriage and take the reins, and then said to him: 'I-wu "(*i. e.* Hwui) has violated (in regard to me) the ceremonial rescripts; "therefore I have had my request granted by the Supreme Emperor "(of Heaven), and am now going to deliver Tsin into the power "of the state of Ts'in, which will properly sacrifice to me'. On this, "Hu-tuh replied: 'I have heard that the shen of the dead do not "enjoy any sacrifices but those presented by their own kindred, "and that, on the other hand, the people never sacrifice but to "(deceased) members of their own clan; will not therefore the "sacrifices (you expect from Ts'in) be in the end given up altogether? "Besides, what crime has this people committed? Consider well, "your Highness, that you are going to inflict undeserved punishment, "and to put an end to (the sacrifices presented to you by) your "offspring'. On this the other said: 'I grant you are right; I must "make another request (to Heaven). In seven days there will be a "medium (wu) at the west side of the new city-wall, through whom "you may have another interview with me'. Hu-tuh promised to go "there, and the ghost vanished. At the appointed time, he repaired "to that spot, and there the medium said to him: 'The Emperor "of Heaven allows me to punish the guilty one only; he shall "be defeated in Han'" [1].

Seventy years later, "the ruler (King [2]) of the same kingdom "dreamed of a tall demon with dishevelled hair hanging down to "the ground, which beat its breast and stamped the ground, saying: "'You have slain my descendants unjustly, but I have had my "request granted by the Supreme Emperor'. It then broke down the "great gate and the inner gate, and entered. The prince started and

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1 晉侯改葬共大子、秋狐突適下國遇大子、大子使登僕而告之曰、夷吾無禮、余得請於帝矣、將以晉畀秦、秦將祀余。對曰、臣聞之神不歆非類、民不祀非族、君祀無乃殄乎、且民何罪、失刑乏嗣、君其圖之。君曰諾、吾將復請、七日新城西偏將有巫者而見我焉。許之、遂不見。及期而往、告之曰、帝許我罰有罪矣、敝於韓. Tenth year of Hi's reign. See also the Historical Records, ch. 39, l. 12.

2 景.

"fled into the back chamber, but of this, too, the spectre thrust "in the door. At this juncture, the ruler awoke... In the sixth "month, when about to take his meal, he felt it necessary to go "to the closet. He tumbled into it, and perished" [1].

It is quite feasible to trace the conception that ghosts encroach upon human life and fate with the consent of Heaven, through the literature of successive ages, works of all periods giving instances of it. To quote here one from a little, but interesting book, entitled *Hwan yuen ki* [2]: On Requital of Wrong, professedly by the hand of Yen Chi-t'ui, the moralist known already to our readers as the author of the *Yen-shi kia hiun* or Yen's Domestic Instructions. A high official of the third century, "Hia-heu Yuen, also named "T'ai-ch'u, was a talented man with brilliant prospects. The prince "of King, Commander-in-Chief of the army, feared him for that, and "had him decapitated. His clan then set out a sacrificial meal for "his manes, and saw him approach the seat placed on the spot "for his soul, where he took his head from his shoulders, put it "down beside him, and passed all the fruits, eatables, spirits and "meat through his throat. Having finished, he sat down, and spoke: "'I have denounced the matter to the Supreme Emperor; that "General's son shall die young, and he shall remain without "offspring'. Not long after, the prince died and thereupon lost "his son. His younger brother, prince of Wen, then appointed his "own second son to become his adoptive heir, and this young man "succeeded his uncle on his son's untimely death; but he too was "put to death. During the insurrections of the Yung kia period "(307—312), a wu saw the apparition of that younger brother, who "said to him: 'Our House has been overthrown because of the com- "plaints lodged by Ts'ao Shwang and Hia-heu Yuen for the wrong done "them; that was the way in which they worked their revenge" [3].

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[1] 晉侯夢大厲、被髮及地、搏膺而踊曰、殺余孫不義、余得請于帝矣。壞大門及寢門而入。公懼入于室、又壞戶。公覺。。。六月將食、張如厠。陷而卒. Tenth year of Ch'ing's reign.

[2] 還冤記.

[3] 晉夏侯元、字太初、亦當時才望。爲司馬景王所忌而殺之。元宗族爲之設祭、見元來靈座、脫頭置其旁、悉取果食酒肉以內頸中。既畢還

Spirits acting as avengers and rewarders with orders or approval from the Tao or Heaven, may punish or bless whole kingdoms for the conduct of their rulers, for we saw on page 409 that, according to a book of high authority, a grandee twenty-six centuries ago explicitly asserted that spirits descend into a state to make it flourish if its rulers are virtuous, or to make it decline if they are wicked. The part which the spirit-world, returning evil for evil and good for good in various ways and respects, acts in popular imagination, has in all times exercised a mighty influence upon Chinese conduct and morals, and is therefore worthy of closer consideration, to which we will subject it in the following chapter.

自安、言曰、吾得訴于上帝矣、司馬子夭、無嗣也。尋而景王薨、遂無子。其弟文王封次子爲齊繼、景王後幼薨、文子因嗣立、又被殺。及永嘉之亂有巫見弟云、我國傾覆正由曹爽夏侯元二人訴冤、得申故也.

CHAPTER XVI.

ON RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE EXERCISED BY SPIRITS.

Vindictiveness and gratitude survive in the life after this; and man retaining there his former human passions, his manes must be expected to send down punishments or rewards principally or exclusively for evil or good done to himself, or to individuals dear to him.

Thus, Shen-sheng punished his brother Hwui for his shortcomings with respect to his manes (p. 433); and King fell a victim to the revenge of a spirit whose descendants he had slain (p. 433). So also, as we saw on page 724 of Book I, commander Kho disarmed in 593 b. C. a formidable herculean foe by the help of a ghost, whose daughter he had refused to immolate to his father's manes. To these instances we may add the following statement concerning Süen, a king of the Cheu dynasty, whose reign is placed between the years 826 and 780 before our era: "According to Mih-tszĕ, "this king had killed Tu-poh, without having to impute any crime "to him, and afterwards, while hunting in Pu, that man appeared "with a bow and arrows, and shot him, on which the king fell "down dead under the effects of (the arrows from) his bow-case"[1]. And finally we refer to P^{c}eng-sheng in the seventh century b. C., who, as we related on page 159, attacked the ruler Shang, the causer of his death, in the shape of a wild boar.

Analogical accounts of revengeful ghosts are disseminated through the literature of the Han period. We read that the empress Kao, who occupied the throne for a time in the second century before

[1] 墨子云、周宣王殺杜伯、不以罪、後宣王田於圃見杜伯執弓矢射宣王、伏弢而死. Szĕ-ma Ching's *Shi ki soh yin* 史記索隱: "Elucidations of the Historical Records", quoted in the Khienlung edition of Szĕ-ma Ts^{c}ien's work, ch. 28, l. 15. This tradition occurs also in the *Sheu shen ki*, the edition in eight chapters, ch. 3.

our era, "saw a being shaped like a blue dog, that clung to her "side and thereupon vanished on a sudden. The tortoise-shell was "consulted, and it pointed out that it was Jü-i, the prince of Chao, "who thus haunted. The empress sickened, and died of a wound "in her side. Some time before, she had poisoned the said prince, "dismembered the ladies of his mother's family, and put out their "eyes, as if they were mere swine in human shape" [1]. Teu Ying [2], a second cousin of the consort of the emperor Wen [3] who succeeded that cruel empress in 179 before our era, as also another grandee, named Kwan Fu, fell victims to the wicked machinations of T'ien Fen [4], a younger brother of the chief consort of King [5], Wen's son and successor, and were put to death atrociously. But vindicatory punishment was not long in coming. "Next spring", thus it is chronicled, "T'ien Fen sickened, and felt severe pains over his "whole body, as if he were being flogged. 'I submit to the punish- "ment and I thank you for it', yelled he. The Emperor ordered a "ghost-seer to observe him, who said: 'The prince of Wei-khi "(*i. e.* Teu Ying) and Kwan Fu watch him; they seem to cudgel "him to death'. And in the end the patient breathed his last" [6]. We may still refer to page 1406 of Book I, which informs us that the violent death of a prince of Kwang-ch'wen and his concubine was represented by historiographers as the work of three secondary consorts of this grandee, murdered by that woman, whose corpses she had burned, to rid herself of their apparitions.

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[1] 見物如倉狗㦸高后掖、忽而不見。卜之、趙王如意爲祟。遂病掖傷而崩。先是高后鴆殺如意、支斷其母戚夫人手足、擢其眼、以爲人彘. Books of the Early Han Dynasty, ch. 27, second part, l. 31.

[2] 竇嬰. [3] 文.

[4] 田蚡. [5] 景.

[6] 春蚡疾、一身盡痛若有擊者。譴服謝罪、上使視鬼者瞻之、曰、魏其侯與灌夫共守、答欲殺之。竟死. *Op. cit.*, ch. 52, l. 12. See also the Historical Records, ch. 107, l. 12. Wang Ch'ung's sharp criticism does not spare this story. Thousands of murderers of innocent people, says he, were never harassed or killed by their victims; — the apparition in question was called forth simply by T'ien Fen's delirium and remorse, and the ghost-seer knew quite well that the patient was the author of Teu Ying's and Kwan Fu's ruin. *Lun heng*, ch. 21, 死僞篇.

Subsequent centuries go on relating stories of human spirits returning evil for evil and good for good. "When Sun Ts'eh — a "grandee at the end of the second century — contemplated cross- "ing the Yang-tszĕ, Sih Hü and Kan Kih accompanied his troops. "By that time the weather was dry and the region all round "scorched. Continuously prompting the chiefs of his troops to ferrying "over the boats with more speed, he sometimes appeared on the "spot in his own person early in the morning, to take the lead of "the work, and once he found most of his officers round Kan Kih[1] "and Sih Hü. This made him foam with rage. 'I am of not so "much account as this Kan Kih is, am I?' he exclaimed, and "with these words he forthwith hurried towards them, had Kan "Kih arrested, fettered, and exposed on the spot to the burning "sun, telling him to pray for rain; should he prevail upon the sky "to send down water at noon, he would be pardoned, or else put "to death. Suddenly cloudy vapours arose, and conglomerated into "one unbroken veil, from which at noontide dense showers fell. "Everybody went up to Kan Kih to congratulate him and cheer "him up, but yet Sun Ts'eh put him to death. The chieftains, filled "with commiseration, concealed his corpse, and on their going next "day to see it, could not find it again.

"After Kan Kih's execution, Sun Ts'eh perceived him among his "attendants in a misty shape whenever he was sitting alone. Some "wounds he had received were just curing, and he took a mirror "to see how he looked — and lo, there was Kan Kih's image in "it, though, on looking round, he saw nobody. Three times this "phenomenon repeated itself. Then with a loud yell he bumped "against the mirror; his wounds burst, and he breathed his last "in a few instants"[2].

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1 His name is often written Yü Kih 于吉.

2 孫策欲渡江襲許與于吉俱行。時大旱、所在燔鬲。策催諸將士使速引船、或身自早出督切、見將吏多在吉許。策因此激怒。言、我爲不如吉耶、而先趨附之、便使收吉、令人縛置地上暴之、使請雨、若能感天日中雨者當原赦、不爾行誅。俄而雲氣上蒸庸寸而合、比至日中大雨。並往慶慰、策遂殺之。將士哀惜藏其尸、明旦往視、不知所在。

"When Jan Min", a bold warrior who, after taking a prominent part in the political troubles of the fourth century, assumed the Imperial dignity in A. D. 350, "had been beheaded by Mu-yung "Tsun on mount Ngoh-hing, the vegetation all round there entirely "withered over a distance of seven miles. Great swarms of locusts "came forth, and it did not rain for five months, until the twelfth, "when Mu-yung Tsun commissioned an emissary, with order to "sacrifice to the manes of his victim, bestowing upon him at the "same time the posthumous dignity of Imperial Prince Wu-tao. "Snow fell thick on that same day. The year in which this happened "was the eighth of the Yung hwo period (A. D. 352) [1]. And "when Tao Wu", the first emperor of the Wei dynasty (A. D. 386—408), "had exterminated the family of (the high grandee) "Hwo Poh, (formerly his favorite), it happened that (his grandson) "the emperor T'ai Wu, while hunting in the Ch'ai Mountains, "suddenly saw himself enveloped on all sides by a dense fog. Quite "astonished, he asked what to ascribe this to, upon which his "subordinates declared unanimously that the phenomenon might "probably be caused by Hwo Poh, who had dwelled in this region "for several generations, and whose soul-temple and tomb still "existed there. The Emperor then sent Ku-pih, the prince of Kien-"hing, to the spot to offer two sacrificial animals, on which the "fog cleared away. Since that time, T'ai Wu, whenever he went "out on a hunting expedition, despatched an envoy thither on "that day, to sacrifice" [2].

策既殺吉、每獨坐彷彿見吉在左右。後治瘡方差而引鏡自照、見吉在鏡中、顧而弗見。如是再三。撲鏡大叫、瘡皆崩裂、須臾而死. *Sheu shen ki*, ch. 1.

[1] 慕容儁斬冉閔于遏陘山、山左右七里草木悉枯。蝗蟲大起、五月不雨、至于十二月儁遣使者祀之、謚曰武悼天王。其日大雪。是歲永和八年也. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 107, l. 19.

[2] 道武誅和跋家、後太武幸豺山校獵、忽暴霧四塞。怪問之、群下僉言跋世居此、祠冢猶存、或者能致斯變。帝遣建興公古弼祭以二牲、霧卽除。後太武蒐狩之日每先遣祭之. History of the North, ch. 20, l. 28. See also the Books of the Wei Dynasty, ch. 28, l. 2.

In the year of our Lord 385, Fu Kien, a grandee exercising royal sway over an extensive dominion in the west of China under the dynastic title of Ts'in [1], was defeated by Yao Ch'ang, who, capturing his capital Ch'ang-ngan, there proclaimed himself emperor, and strangled his rival in a Buddhist monastery. After some time, "Yao Ch'ang sickened, and saw Fu Kien in his dreams storm his "camp at the head of envoys from the agencies of Heaven and "several hundreds of spectral soldiers. Terror-stricken, he sought "refuge in the back palace, in the arms of his courtiers, who "attacked those spectres and lanced them, but by mistake they "hit their lord in his genitals. The ghosts then said: 'He is just "hit in a vital spot'; and on the lance being extracted, more "than a stoneweight of blood gushed out. At this juncture, Yao "Ch'ang awoke from his dream, horror-stricken, and had a tumor "on his genitals. The surgeon pricked it, and just as much "blood as he had dreamed flowed out of it. He then began to "utter delirious talk; 'they say that I, your slave, did it', he "exclaimed, 'that I, Ch'ang, did it; but the man who murdered "Your Highness is my brother Siang; I, your slave, am innocent; "pray, commit no unjustice against me'. With these words he gave "up his ghost" [2].

The best proof we have for the generality of the belief in vindicatory justice of spirits in the sixth century of our era, is the fact that Yen Chi-t'ui, the ethologist, then deemed it advisable for the maintenance of public morality to collect many instances of it into a little book, now extant under the title of *Hwan yuen ki* or Writings on the Requital of Wrong. We acquainted our readers with it on page 434. In its present shape, it contains thirty-two tales, the first of which is that concerning Siang, the Ruler of the kingdom of Ts'i, given already on page 159. It further relates that

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[1] 秦.

[2] 姚萇病、夢苻堅將天官使者鬼兵數百突入營中。萇懼走後宮、宮人迎萇刺鬼、誤中萇陰。鬼相謂曰、正中死處、拔矛出血石餘。寤而驚悸、遂患陰腫。醫刺之、出血如夢。萇乃狂言、或稱臣、或稱萇、殺陛下者兄襄、非臣之罪、願不枉臣。萇死. Books of the Wei Dynasty, ch. 95, ll. 43 *seq.* Also the Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 116, ll. 14 *seq.*

Ho Ch'ang [1], Governor of Kiao-chi [2] or Tongking, travelled in the first century of our era through Kao-yao [3] in Kwangtung, and while passing the night there in a watching-pavilion, saw an apparition of a woman. "I was murdered here some time ago, she said, together with my servant; our murderer is the headman of the pavilion, who coveted the precious silks with which I was travelling round to sell"; and she informed him of the details of the crime, telling him also he would find the corpses buried on the very spot, undecayed, in a white dress with blue silk shoes, and the remains of the car and the bones of the ox close by in a well. Of course Ho Ch'ang had the ground dug up and the well searched, and thus finding all proof and evidence wanting, he imprisoned the murderer with his whole family. They were all decapitated with special Imperial authorisation.

Further, Yen Chi-t'ui makes us acquainted with the tales of Kan Kih, Hia-heu Yuen, and Fu Kien, of which we have given the versions as they occur in other works (see pp. 438, 434 and 440). Then we find again some instances of murdered persons betraying their assassins, who, seeing themselves so mysteriously detected, made a clean breast at once, and avowed everything. In one case, the ghost prevents the culprit from escaping, by nailing him by his hair to a wall before betraying him. We are also told of victims of judicial error, chastising their unworthy judges with disease and death. A child murdered by its step-mother, haunts her home so ferociously as to bring death over her and her offspring. An innocent wealthy man in Kwangtung, put to death by a rapacious prefect merely to confiscate his possessions, regularly appears in that grandee's premises, stubbornly beating the great drum placed there for all who apply for redress of wrong, until the prefect sickens for anxiety, and dies. Especially numerous in the books are the instances of persons haunted by the souls of their victims on their death-bed, where, in most cases, the ghosts themselves state expressly that they are avenging themselves with the special authorisation of Heaven, at the foot of whose throne they lodged their complaints.

A rather singular tale is that of one Kin Yuen [4], a famous gladiator, condemned about the year 325 of our era to perish by the sword. He promised his executioner a reward should he succeed in getting with one stroke through the hard muscular neck; but the swordsman belaboured the neck most piteously. Then he suddenly beheld

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[1] 何敞. [2] 交阯. [3] 高要. [4] 金原.

Kin Yuen in a red dress and a red cap, shooting a red arrow at him from a red bow. "He is carrying me off", cried the poor man, and he expired. Some special interest attaches to the following tale, as it acquaints us with some ideas prevalent in earlier days about certain powers in the unseen world of shades, co-operating with wrathful spectres:

"Wang Fan, prefect of the district of Fu-yang under the Tsin "dynasty, possessed a concubine, named Tᶜao-ying. This woman was "a voluptuous beauty, who indulged in familiarities with two of her "husband's subalterns, Ting Fung and Shi Hwa-khi. Once, when he "was away from home and did not return for some time, Sun "Yuen-pih, the general intendant of his harem, heard the tinkling "of girdle ornaments in Ting Fung's chamber, and saw Tᶜao-ying "there with him under one coverlet. Tapping on the door, he "rebuked her, on which the woman rose, put on her petticoat, "arranged her coiffure, put on her shoes, and returned to her own "inner apartment. Sun Yuen-pih perceived also that Shi Hwa-khi "wore Tᶜao-ying's musk among the appendages of his girdle. Lest "Sun Yuen-pih should denounce them, the two men impeached "him with sexual intercourse with Tᶜao-ying; and Wang Fan did "not investigate the matter properly, but put him to death. It was "especially a certain Ch'en Chᶜao, a man in office at that time, "who prevailed upon Wang Fan to consider him as guilty of the "crime imputed to him.

"Afterwards, a colleague being appointed in his place, Wang "Fan returned to his homestead, and Chᶜen Chᶜao then travelled "away from the Capital, to pay him a visit. At the foot of the "Red Pavilion hill he was overtaken at sundown by thunder and "rain. Suddenly a man appeared, who lifted him up by his flank "and leg, to carry him off into the thicket. By a flash of lightning "he saw he had to do with a k w e i, whose face was of a deep- "bluish black, with eyes without pupils. 'I am Sun Yuen-pih', "it cried; I have laid down before the Imperial Heaven a complaint "of the wrong suffered by me, who will not be long in manifesting "his justice. How often have I lain in wait for you! but now our "paths cross'. Chᶜao wept bloody tears and bumped his head against "the ground, on which the spectre spoke: 'Indeed, the chief culprit "is Wang Fan; I have to kill him first. And according to the registers "which Kia King-poh and Sun Wen-tu keep under the halls of "darkness on mount Tᶜai of births and deaths of mankind, Tᶜao- "ying's souls are to be confined in the blue pavilion for females,

"that is to say, in the third hell below the yellow springs, where "only female k w e i are dealt with'. At this moment the dawn "broke, and the spectre vanished.

"Thus Ch'en Ch'ao arrived in Yang-tu and called on Wang Fan; "but ere he had gathered courage to tell him his adventure, he "saw the spectre approach the house and straightway enter Wang "Fan's bed. That same night the latter was just asleep, when he "had a violent attack of nightmare. Without regaining consciousness, "he yelled incessantly. His relations made a bluish cow look down "upon the patient, and they tied a mannikin of peach-wood to "his left side; but for all that it dawned ere he came round a little. "In some ten days he expired, and his concubine likewise had an "abrupt death.

"Ch'en Ch'ao sought a refuge in the Ch'ang-kan convent, and "adopted another surname and name, namely Ho Kwei. On the "third day of the third month in the fifth year, he repaired to the "waterside to tipple a little, saying to himself: 'I must no more "fear that ghost now'; but as he looked down, he beheld its shape "in the water. It grasped his nose, from which a flow of blood "gushed forth, more perhaps than a full pint; and he was dead "in a few days" [1].

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[1] 晉富陽縣令王範有妾桃英。殊有姿色、遂與閣下丁豐史華期二人姦通。範嘗出行不還、帳內都督孫元弼聞丁豐戶內有環珮聲、覘視見桃英與同被而臥。元弼叩戶面叱之、桃英卽起、攬裙理髮躡履還內。元弼又見華期帶珮桃英麝香。二人懼元弼告之、乃共謗元弼與桃英有私、範不辨察、遂殺元弼。有陳超者當時在座、勸成元弼罪。

後範代還、超亦出都看範。行至赤亭山下値雷雨日暮。忽然有人扶超腋脛、曳將去入荒澤中。電光照見一鬼、面甚靑黑、眼無瞳子。曰、吾孫元弼也、訴怨皇天、早見申理、連時候汝、乃今相遇。超叩頭流血、鬼曰、王範旣爲事主、當先殺之、賈景伯孫文度在太山玄堂下共定死生名錄、桃英魂魄亦收在女靑亭者、是第三地獄

Thus far for Yen Chi-t'ui's interesting book. Works of older and of younger date contain tales to the same purport. So the *I yuen* relates of "one Yuen Khih, a Wu-hing man, whose wife, when on "the point of dying, grasped his hand and asked him: 'Will you "take another wife when I am dead?' — 'I shall not find it in "my heart to do it' was the answer. Nevertheless he did remarry, "but then, in broad daylight, his deceased wife appeared before "him, with the words: 'You took your oath on it, why have "you broken your promise?'; and she cut off his sexual organs "with a knife" [1].

Less numerous, though very numerous yet, are the tales of spirits under obligation for clemency, rewarding their benefactors. "Ch'en Fei was prefect of Tsiu-ts'üen (in the north of Shensi or "Kansuh). A soothsayer had said to him: 'Send away from you "the Heu, and let Poh-khiu free; follow this advice, and no evil "shall befall you'. On his arrival in the said prefecture, he found "there, as physicians in ordinary, one Chang Heu, one Wang Heu, "and others, all of whom he dismissed. At midnight he was haunted "by a being placing itself on his coverlet. His attendants heard "it, seized torches and were going to kill it, but the spectre "said: 'If you can forgive me, I will requite your clemency. My "cognomen is Poh-khiu; whenever you get into difficulties, then "merely call out my cognomen, and they shall be got rid of'. — "'This it is what that 'let Poh-khiu free' meant', Wen gladly said,

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名、在黃泉下、專治女鬼。投至天明、失鬼所在。

超至楊都詣範、未敢說之、便見鬼從外來、逕入範帳。至夜範始眠、忽然大覺。連呼不醒。家人牽青牛臨範上、并加桃人左索、向明小蘇。十許日而死、妾亦暴亡。

超亦逃走長干寺、易姓名爲何規。後五年三月三日臨水酒酬、超云、今當不復畏此鬼也、低頭便見鬼影已在水中。以手摸超鼻、血大出可一升許、數日而殂.

[2] 吳興袁乞妻臨亡、把乞手云、我死君再婚否。乞曰、不忍。後遂更娶、白日見其婦、語云、君先結誓、何爲負言、因以刀割陰. KK, ch. 322.

"and he let the spectre go. And he received his rewards for it" [1].

Shi Wan-sui, a celebrated commander in the service of the house of Sui, owed his brilliant military career much to the grateful manes of a minister of the founder of the Han dynasty, who, in virtue of his former high dignity, was a powerful personage in the world of shades. "The dwelling of Shi Wan-sui, Commander-in-chief "of the army in the North, stands in Ch'ang-ngan, in the Tai-hien "ward. Ere he lived there, it was constantly haunted by kwei, "so that the inmates often died; but Wan-sui would not believe "it, and he put up in it immediately. One night he saw a human "being, dressed and capped in a dignified style. As it approached "him, he asked what it came for, and the answer was: 'I am "General Fan Khwai. My grave is so close to the closet of your "house that the stench always bothers me; if you will oblige me "and remove it to another spot, I will reward you liberally'. Wan-"sui promised to do so; but at the same time he asked the spirit "why it had punished so many people in the dwelling with death. "On which the spectre retorted: 'They all died from fear; I never "killed one'. Wan-sui dug up the ground, and found the coffin "with the skeleton; and he buried it elsewhere.

"Next night the ghost re-appeared to thank him. 'You shall "become a General', it said, 'and I will then lend you a helping "hand'. And when he had become commander of the forces of the "Sui dynasty, he perceived at every encounter with the enemy that "spectral soldiers helped him, so that a glorious victory was the "issue" [2].

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[1] 陳斐爲酒泉太守。卜者教以遠諸侯放伯裘、能守此則無憂。既到官有侍醫張侯王侯等、盡遠之。夜半有物來斐被上。人聞持火、欲殺之、魅乃言曰、能相赦當報恩、我字伯裘、若府君有患難、但呼我字、當自解。裴乃喜曰、眞放伯裘之義也、卽便放之。果得其報. *Sheu shen heu ki*, the edition in two parts, II.

[2] 長安待賢坊隋北領軍大將軍史萬歲宅。其宅初常有鬼怪、居者輒死、萬歲不信、因卽居之。夜見人、衣冠甚偉。來就萬歲、萬歲問其由、鬼曰、我漢將君樊噲、墓近君居厠、常苦穢惡、幸移他所必當厚報。萬歲許諾、因責殺生人所由。鬼

Such tales of human spirits rewarding those who bestowed care upon their unburied or badly buried corporeal remains, occur in Chinese literature in numbers obviously great. We gave a few on pp. 860 *sqq.* of Book I, stating there that they certainly tend much to maintain and promote this branch of social benevolence, at the same time keeping the Government in the beaten track of earlier dynasties, which, as we sketched also (pp. 866 *sqq.*), had all a great share in such work of charity by enacting laws and taking active measures for the protection of the dead. Souls are also frequently represented as appearing in order to prevail upon the living to convey their buried or unburied bones to their native place, and afterwards rewarding them for it. Of the same tenor are numerous tales of spectres haunting the living and harassing them in sundry ways, until some ghost-seer discovers somewhere unburied bones, or even a single bone or cranium, and the population decently buries it. It has often occurred that spirits whose sufferings were thus alleviated, told their benefactors to evoke them whenever they should find themselves in trouble or distress, as then they would immediately come and help them; and, of course, they kept their word.

On the other hand, we have tales of men who, having found bones and thrown them aside, were ordered by the soul to collect and bury them; and on their neglecting this warning, they went mad, their soul being taken out of them by the authorities of the Netherworld for punishment, in consequence of the wronged soul having impeached them before their tribunal. But, especially, people laying sacrilegious hands upon tombs incurred the revenge of the injured souls. "The grave of Li Khoh-yung", thus we read, "who was a prince of Tsin, is situated at eight miles from Tai-cheu,

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曰、各自怖而死、非我殺也。及掘得骸柩、因爲改葬。

後夜又來謝。曰、君當爲將、吾必助君。後萬歲爲隋將、每遇賊便覺鬼兵助已、戰必大捷. *Liang king ki* 兩京記 or Description of the two Capitals, quoted in the K K, ch. 327. This work is probably the *Liang king sin ki* 兩京新記 or New Description of the two Capitals, in five chapters, by Wei Shuh 韋述, a very learned high statesman and prolific historian of the eighth century; see the Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty, ch. 102, l. 23. The book is now lost, except some fragments incorporated in other works. The two Capitals were Ch'ang-ngan or the present Si-ngan-fu in Shensi, and Loh-yang, in Honan.

"west, near the convent of the Cypress Forest. In the first year "of the T'ien küen period (A.D. 1138) lawless people dug up "that tomb. The monks intrusted with the care of it informed "the authorities of the matter, on which the prefect dreamed that "the prince spoke to him: 'The pilferers who drank of some liquor "I had in my grave, got their lips and teeth quite black; "this will show you whom you have to catch'. Thus informed, he "laid hands on the robbers next day, one half of whose number "were monks of the convent" [1].

Of this narrative we possess a reading of earlier date. "The "official records concerning Tun-hwang relate: When Wang Fan "had died, his tomb was opened by robbers, who found him "playing at cards with some other persons. He offered them "liquor, of which they drank in their confusion, perceiving at the "same time a man leading a copper horse out of the tomb. That "same evening a ghostly person presented himself at the city-gate. "'I am a messenger from Wang Fan', said he; 'to-day robbers "have opened his tomb, but he has blackened their lips with "spirits. They will be here after sunrise; you can then recognize "them and apprehend them'. And when the robbers entered "the gate, the men stationed there garrotted them; and on their "being questioned, matters were found to have occurred just as "the ghost had said" [2].

"In the first year of the Khai yuen period (A.D. 713)", thus again we read, "the Imperial secondary consort Hwa enjoyed the "favours of the Emperor, and thus gave birth to Ts'ung, prince of

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[1] 晉王李克用墓在代州西八里、柏林寺側。天眷初盜發王墓。守墳僧言之、郡守夢王曰、吾墓中有酒、盜飲吾酒者唇齒盡黑、可徵此捕之。明日獲盜、寺僧居其半. *Shan-si t'ung chi* 山西通志. General Memoirs concerning Shansi, sect. on the T'ai-yuen department; TS. sect. 坤輿, chapter 134.

[2] 燉煌實錄云、王樊卒有盜開其冢、見樊與人摴蒱。以酒賜盜者、盜者惶怖飲之、見有人牽銅馬出冢者。夜有神人至城門。自云、我王樊之使、今有發冢者、以酒墨其脣、訖旦至、可以驗而擒之。盜既入城、城門者乃縛、詰之、如神所言. *Tuh i chi*; KK, ch. 317.

"Khing. She then died, and was buried in Ch'ang-ngan. In the "twenty-eighth year of that period, a gang of banditti made up "their minds to open her grave. At a hundred pu from it "they threw up a high tumulus, under pretext of having to "bury somebody in it, and they constructed therein a tunnel "leading straightway to her mausoleum. They then split up her "coffin, and finding her with a countenance like that of a living "woman, and with four limbs that could bend and stretch, they "gave the reins to their lusts, and ravished her. This done, they "cut off her arms for the gold bracelets, and cut out her tongue, "lest she should betray the matter to others in their dreams. And "setting up her corpse in an erect posture, they stuck a torch in "her vagina, and carried all the precious things, of which they "found great numbers, out of the place where they were stored "up, into the quasi-grave. Subsequently they brought an empty "coffin on a hearse out of the city, and, as if surprized by the "dusk, passed the night at the grave, availing themselves of "this time to bring their booty into the soul-cars and the other "vehicles of the funeral train. This done, they returned to the city, "everything in the cars well covered from view.

"But, before this burial took place, the prince of Khing dreamed "that the concubine, her hair dishevelled, came to him, quite "naked, wailing and weeping. 'Robbers have opened my grave', "she said: 'they have cut me and ravished me; I have no words "to tell you the wrong they have thus inflicted upon my poor "orbate soul in the dark world. But I am sure to see them come to "grief at the Ch'un-ming gate'. Then giving him further details, she "disappeared. The prince was a pure character, extremely filial; so he "rose, terror-stricken, and burst into tears. No sooner did the "morning dawn than he gave a report of the matter to the Em- "peror, who sent forthwith for Wan Nien, the Governor of the "Capital, and ordered him to take quick measures suitable to the "circumstances. Thus, as the robbers appeared in the Ch'un-ming "gate, on their way home with the cars, the officials there told "them to halt. They ransacked the cars, and finding them full of "precious objects, seized everything, and garrotted the whole gang, "who confessed immediately. Several dozen men were ultimately "arrested, all members of notable families. They were not questioned, "but the prince requested that five ringleaders should be delivered "up to him for private vengeance. The Emperor acceded to this; and "out of all of them he drew the five viscera, which he cooked, and

"sacrificed (to the manes of the concubine); the other criminals were "all bambooed to death outside the gate of the Capital. He finally "re-buried the consort, and mourned for her in his heart for three "years" [1].

In this series of narratives placed before the reader, there are some which represent spirits as availing themselves of dreams to work their vengeance or promise rewards. They thus supply us with as much confirmation as we could desire of our former statement (page 116) that, according to prevailing conception, dreams are often encounters of the soul of the dreamer with ghosts. So certain, in fact, was the concubine of the prince of Kwang-ch'wen that the apparitions of her two victims were reality, that, to defend herself against them, she exhumed their corpses and burned them to ashes (Book I, page 1406). Similar radical measures in like circumstances others took. So, Mu-yung Tsun, whom we spoke of on page 439 (A.D. 319—360), one of the rulers of the state of Yen [2], "dreamed

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[1] 開元初華妃有寵、生慶王琮。薨瘞長安。至二十八年有盜欲發妃冢。遂于塋外百餘步僞築大墳若將瘞者、乃于其內潛通地道、直達冢中。剖棺、妃面如生、四肢皆可屈伸、盜等恣行凌辱。仍截腕取金釧、兼去其舌、恐通夢也。側立其尸而于陰中置燭、悉取藏內珍寶不可勝數、皆徙置僞冢。乃于城中以輜車載空棺、會日暮便宿墓中、取諸物置魂車及送葬車中。方掩而歸。

其未葬之前慶王夢妃、被髮裸形、悲泣而來。曰、盜發吾冢又加截辱、孤魂幽枉如何可言、然吾必俟其敗于春明門也。因備說其狀而去。王素至孝、忽驚起涕泣。明旦入奏、帝乃召京兆尹萬年、令以物色備盜甚急。及盜載物歸也欲入春明門、門吏訶止之。乃搜車、中皆諸寶物盡收、羣盜拷掠、卽服。逮捕數十人、皆貴戚子弟。無行檢者、王乃請其魁帥五人得親報仇。帝許之、皆探取五臟、烹而祭之、其餘盡榜殺於京兆門外。改葬貴妃、王心喪三年. *Kwang i ki*; K K, ch. 330.

[2] 燕.

"at night that Shih Ki-lung", — emperor from A. D. 335 till his death in 350, of a contemporaneous state, named Chao[1] — "bit "his arm. He awoke and, flushed with anger, ordered his grave "to be dug up, his coffin to be broken and the corpse dragged "out. Kicking it with his foot and bullying it, he exclaimed: 'You, a "dead barbarian, you presume to make me, a living Son of Heaven, "dream!' And the Censor Yoh Yang, who reprimanded him for such "cruel mutilation of a corpse, he told to get away, and after "having him whipped, he threw him into the Chang stream"[2].

The tales of retaliating and rewarding spirits, which occur in profusion also in modern books, are of no other character than those of earlier date, and therefore afford no new points of view. This fact justifies the inference, that the belief in such spirits and their doings prevails unchanged and unshaken to this day. In conversing with the Chinese, we find that this belief is, in fact, inveterate in all classes, continuously revived as it is in everybody by hundreds of tales handed down from good old times, and considered all as authentic on account of the simple fact that they occur in books. Ghosts may interfere at any moment with human business and fate, either favorably or unfavorably. This doctrine indubitably exercises a mighty and salutary influence upon morals. It enforces respect for human life and a charitable treatment of the infirm, the aged and the sick, especially if they stand on the brink of the grave. Benevolence and humanity, thus based on fears and selfishness, may have little ethical value in our eye; but for all that, their existence in a country where culture has not yet taught man to cultivate good for the sake of good alone, may be greeted as a blessing. Those virtues are even extended to animals, for, in fact, these too have souls which may work vengeance or bring reward. But the firm belief in ghosts and their retributive justice has still other effects. It deters from grievous and provoking injustice, because the wronged party, thoroughly sure of the avenging power of his own spirit when disembodied, will not always shrink from converting himself into a wrathful ghost

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[1] 趙.

[2] 僊夜夢石季龍齧其臂。寤而惡之、命發其墓、剖棺出尸。踢而罵之曰、死胡安敢夢生天子。遣其御史中尉約陽數其殘酷之罪、鞭之、棄於漳水. Books of the Tsin Dynasty, ch. 110, l. 11.

by committing suicide. It is still fresh in our memory how such a course was followed in 1886 by a shopkeeper in Amoy, pressed hard by a usurer, who had brought him to the verge of ruin. To extort payment, this man ran off with the shutters of his shop, thus giving its contents a prey to burglars; but in that same night the wretch hanged himself against his persecutor's doorpost, the sight of his corpse setting the whole ward in commotion at daybreak, and bringing all the family he had storming to the spot. The usurer, frightened out of his wits, had no alternative but to pay them a considerable indemnification, with an additional sum for the burial expenses, on which they pledged their promise to abstain from bringing him up before the magistrate. Pending those noisy negotiations, the corpse remained untouched where it hung. Thus the usurer had a hairbreadth escape from jail, flagellation and other judicial woes, but whether he slipped also through the hands of his etherized victim, we were never told. It impressed us on that occasion to hear from the Chinese, that occurrences of this kind were very far from rare, and they told us a good many, then fresh in everybody's memory.

As unavoidably as the spirit's retaliation must reach assassins and causers of suicide, it must come down upon any persecutor whose victim dies of grief or despair. Whatever the deed may be it is rendered for, such spiritual vengeance may manifest itself in different ways. The ghost may enter the body of his enemy and make him blab out, under the influence of a glass too much or in a fit of mental derangement, his crime with all its particulars, so that earthly justice becomes able to lay its hands on him. It may take possession of his body to render him ill or mad; it may even cause his death after long and painful suffering, or drive him to suicide. "A certain man", thus the author of the *Liao-chai chi i* tells us, "had a paternal uncle, not blessed with male offspring. "Coveting the property of this relation, he volunteered to become "his adopted son, and thus, on his uncle's death, inherited the "whole estate. But then he broke his pledge, for he had still a "younger paternal uncle, also very well-to-do, sonless like the other, "whom he now made his father (by adoption). On him too he "turned his back when he had died, accumulating in this wise the "possessions of three families in his own hands, and becoming "richer than the whole village. Unexpectedly he fell severely ill, "and began to rave like a madman. 'You wish to enjoy wealth, "and also to produce an offspring, do you?' he spoke to himself;

"and seizing a sharp knife, he began to cut away his own flesh, "strewing the slices on the floor. He then said: 'You cut off the "posterity of others, and yet wish to have posterity for yourself, "do you?' — and he ripped open his belly, so that his bowels came "out. Thus he expired. A little afterwards his sons died, so that "his property fell into the hands of others. A retaliation so effectual "as that, is not it dreadful?" [1]

Prevalent opinion, continuously inspired anew by literature of all times and ages, admitting that spiritual vengeance may descend in all imaginable forms, it admits also that it may come down upon the culprits' offspring in the form of disease or death. This tenet, so revolting to our own feelings of justice, tallies perfectly with the Chinese conception that the severest punishment which may be inflicted on one, both in his present life and the next, is decline or extermination of his male issue, leaving nobody to support him in his old age, nobody to protect him after his death from misery and hunger by caring for his corpse and grave, and sacrificing to his manes. A dissolute son squandering the possessions of his family and disgracing it by a licentious and criminal life, is often taken for a man who, being wronged by the father or by some ancestor, had himself reborn as that son, to thus have his cruel vengeance. Conversely, an excellent child which is the glory of its family, generally passes for a re-incarnation of some grateful spirit.

Expression to these conceptions is given by P^{c}u Sung-ling in the following short tale: "When Ho Khiüng-khing, a P^{c}ing-yin man, "was for the first time prefect of Ts^{c}in (in Kansuh pr.), he had "an oil-vendor, who had committed a slight offence and gave him "some silly answers which aroused his anger, cudgelled to death. "Then he became an officer on the Civil Office Board, and thereby "rich enough to have a storied house built. When the ridge-pole

[1] 某甲者伯無嗣。甲利其有願爲之後、伯既死田產悉爲所有。遂背前盟、又有一叔、家頗裕、亦無子、甲又殳之。叔卒又背之、於是併三家之產、稱富一鄉。忽暴病若狂。自言曰、汝欲享富厚而生耶、遂以利刀自割肉片片擲地。又曰、汝絕人後、尙欲有後耶、剖腹、流腸。遂斃。未幾其子亦死、產業歸他人矣。果報如此可畏也夫. Ch. 14, 果報.

"was put in its place [1], his relations and some guests drank that day "to his health and congratulated him, when suddenly he saw the "oil-man walk in. And as he stood silently aghast, not knowing "what to think of this apparition, the news was brought him that "his secondary wife had borne him a son. Quite downcast, he "said: 'This house is not yet finished, and its demolisher already "comes'. The bystanders said he was jesting, for they did not know "that what he had seen was perfect reality. In course of time his "son grew up to manhood, and proved very stupid; he quite "ruined his family, and had to go out as a servant. Then, when- "ever he had earned a few coins, he bought some fragrant oil, and "swallowed it" [2].

Thus we learn also that mandarins, however great their power may be, are not beyond the reach of spiritual wrath, should they indulge in torturing or executing the innocent. Let the following page from a modern book of to-day actuality confirm this:

"In T'ang-shan, Ts'üen-ku of the tea-house lived a life of purity. "A delicate girl she was, nineteen years old. A neighbouring "student of the Ch'en family, a handsome lad, had secret sexual "intercourse with her, and was laid hands upon for that by some "scoundrels; but, being of a well-to-do family, he could buy their "silence for a hundred coins.

"This news reached the ears of some lictors in the service of "the district magistrate. Eager to get also their share in the "booty, they came together and dragged the lad by his pig-tail "to the prefecture. And the magistrate, a man vaunting attainments "in jurisprudence, sentenced Ch'en to forty blows with the long "stick. The girl burst into vehement wailing and, wet with tears, "thrust herself over Ch'en's posterior to catch the blows instead

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1 This is done on an auspicious day, selected for the purpose with great solicitude, as the fate of the house and its inmates will depend on it for ever.

2 何冏卿平陰人初令秦中、一賣油者有薄罪、其言戇、何怒杖斃之。後仕至銓司、家貲富饒、建一樓。上梁日親賓稱觴爲賀、忽見賣油者入。陰自駭疑、俄報妾生子。愀然曰、樓工未成、拆樓人已至矣。人謂其戲、而不知其實有所見也。後子既長最頑、蕩其家、傭爲人役。每得錢數文輒買香油食之. *Liao-chai chi i*, ch. 14, 拆樓人.

"of him; but the prefect took this for indecency and, in a fit of "increased anger, condemned her to the same number of blows. "Two lictors kept her down upon the ground, their hearts filled "with compassion; and seeing that her whole body was so tender, "so delicate as if there were no bones in it, and having, moreover, "received some money from Ch'en, they let the blows come "down lightly, and even beside her on the floor. Still the man- "darin's fury had not abated. He cut off her hair, unshoed her "feet, and placed those things upon his bench, to have them passed "round and seen as a warning to the whole district; and finally "he put them away in his magazine, and sold the girl to the "profit of the mandarinate.

"Herewith the affair would have been finished, but for Ch'en "himself, whose thoughts did not turn away from the lass. He "bribed somebody to buy her, and married her himself. Before "a month had passed, the lictors came again tumultuously, to "extort money from him. They made such an uproar in the "street that the prefect heard it, and flying into a passion, had "the two creatures arrested a second time for trial. The poor maid, "foreseeing that this time she would not get off so well, hid some "refuse cotton, straw and paper within her trousers to protect "herself; but the mandarin scanned her, and asked: 'What is "this that you have stuffed inside?' Then leaving his seat, he "drew everything out of her trousers, and had her flagellated "on her naked body right under his own eyes. Ch'en protested "with hand-gesture and mouth, and after having received several "hundred blows, he was assigned anew this full number. Then "he was sent home, where he died a month after. And the "woman was sold to a certain young gentleman, who made her "his concubine.

"Now one Liu Hiao-kien, a man of the higher class and of "considerable moral courage, walked straightway into the Yamen "to lecture the mandarin. 'Yesterday', thus he spoke, 'I arrived "here in the district-city and heard you order in a loud voice to "inflict severe beatings. Expecting to find you busy with robbers "and a gang of thieves, I approached the steps to see, and I beheld "what I did not expect to see: a tender girl with her red silk "trousers off, being beaten with sticks! The part of her body "exposed, so fleshy, was like a white snowball melting away miser- "ably in the heat of the sun, and you mylord, you rained down "upon it the maximum of blows, though already on the first blow

"it got the colour of a rotten peach. Her adultery was only a slight "offence; why then did you treat her in that way?' — 'Ts'üen-ku "is a beauty', answered the mandarin; 'hence the people would "have accused me of voluptuousness had I not beaten her. And "Ch'en is rich; so they would have accused me of being bribed "by him if I had not beaten him' — 'But', thus retorted the "other, 'is it then allowed a magistrate, that is to say, a father "and mother to the people, to lacerate the skin and flesh of others "to increase his own reputation? Your conduct shall have the "reward it deserves'. And with these words he shook his clothes "and strode away, breaking off all further intercourse with that "prefect.

"Nearly ten years then passed away when that magistrate was "removed to Sung-kiang in his capacity as prefect. In that place "he was once sitting in his mansion at his noontide dinner, "when his servants saw a young man enter through the window "and tap him three times on his back. At the same moment, "the mandarin complained of pain on that part touched, and "before he had finished his meal, a swelling appeared on his back "upward of one foot in size, midway through which a seam "ran, giving it the aspect of a human posterior. They called the "surgeon, who, on having seen the spot, exclaimed: 'It is incurable, "for its colour is that of a rotten peach'. On hearing these words, "the mandarin heartily execrated that man; but in less than ten "days he was dead" [1].

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[1] 蕩山茶肆全姑生而潔白。婀娜年十九。其鄰陳生、美少年、私與通、爲匪人所捉、陳故富家以百金賄匪。

縣役知之。思分其賄、相與率、扭到縣。縣令某自負理學名、將陳决杖四十。女哀號、涕泣伏陳生臀上願代、令以爲無恥、愈怒將女亦决杖四十。兩隸拉女下、私相憐、以爲此女通體嬌柔如無骨者、又受陳生金、故杖輕樸地而已。令怒未息。剪其髮、脫其弓鞋、置案上、傳觀之以爲合邑戒、且貯庫焉、將女發官賣。

案結矣、陳思女不已。賄他人買之、而已仍娶

According to the Amoy people, the vengeance of spirits may in many a case be very long in reaching its object. For thus they reason: — every individual lives under the dominion of his *khì ūn*[2] or "destiny created by the Breaths", that is to say, by the Yang and the Yin which animate the Universe and constitute its Course or Tao; and if that natural destiny is felicitous, firm and solid on account of merits gained by the individual himself in his present life or in a previous existence, or by his ancestors, the world of ghosts is perfectly powerless against him, whereas, as we saw on page 432, these have altogether to comply with Heaven's will or Tao. But as soon as his store of merit is outbalanced by an adequate amount of demerits, his account with Heaven being thus squared, the rancorous spirits regain full

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之。未一月縣役紛來索賄。道路喧嚷令訪聞、大怒重擒二人至案。女知不免、私以敗絮草紙置褲中護其臀、令望見曰、是下身纍纍者何物耶。乃下堂、扯去褲中物、親自監臨裸而杖之。陳生抵攔掌嘴、數百後乃再决滿杖。歸家、月餘死。女賣爲某公子妾。

有劉孝廉者、俠士也、直入署責令。曰、我昨到縣、聞公呼大杖、以爲治强盜積賊、故至階下觀之、不料一美女剝紫綾褲受杖、兩臀隆然如一團白雪、日炙之猶慮其消、而君以滿杖加之、一板下便成爛桃子色、所犯風流小過、何必如是。令曰、全姑美、不加杖、人道我好色、陳某富、不加杖、人道我得錢。劉曰、爲父母官以他人皮肉博自已聲名可乎、行當有報矣。奮衣出、與令絶交。

未十年令遷守松江。坐公舘方午餐、其僕見一少年從窻外入、以手拍其背者三。遂呼背痛、不食已而背腫尺許、中有界溝如兩臀然。召醫、視之、醫曰、不救矣、成爛桃子色矣。令聞、心惡之、未十日卒. *Tszĕ puh yü*, ch. 16.

[2] 氣運.

liberty to attack his tottering destiny; and whatever expedients human genius may now set at work to ward off evil from him, they remain effectless altogether.

This simple complex of tenets lays disrespect for human lives under great restraint. Most salutarily also they work upon female infanticide, a monstrous custom practised extensively among the poor in Amoy and the surrounding farming-districts, as in many other parts of the Empire. The fear that the souls of the murdered little ones may bring misfortune, induces many a father or mother to lay the girls they are unwilling to bring up, in the street for adoption into some family, or into a foundling-hospital. At least one such institution is to be found in many populous towns. It is called a yuh ying t'ang[1] or "hall for infant-nursing", or pao ying t'ang[2]: "hall for the protection of babies", or tsih ying t'ang[3]: "hall where infants are brought together", etc. Such hospitals are founded and maintained by the authorities in concert with the wealthy and fashionable citizens. Alongside with such practical virtuous work, these worthies increase their stock of merit by distributing from time to time gratuitous tracts against infanticide. Such documents for the most part afford curious reading. They give us wise exhortations from the lips of gods and saints, side by side with terrifying instances of punishments inflicted by unseen powers on parents and midwives guilty of child-murder. In general they bear a strong Buddhistic tinge, being bound up with warnings against the killing of men and animals, and with accounts of torture inflicted on delinquents in the Buddhist hell.

Many of these tracts are shaped like a book, in which every case related is illustrated by a woodcut print. They thus stimulate much the curiosity of the fair sex and others who cannot read, prompting them to have the text duly read and explained to them by experts in the noble reading-art. Perusing a small stock of such books in our possession, we find some instances of a mother who, having destroyed a new-born daughter, fell ill, and seeing the victim appear before her in the company of a hideous spectre with iron fetters, gave up the ghost, exclaiming: "The wronged soul is coming to fetch me". — We read of a mother whose murdered daughters arose before her eyes with frightful threats, telling her she would not escape punishment unless by wandering about to beg her food

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[1] 育嬰堂. [2] 保嬰堂. [3] 集嬰堂.

and tell everybody this adventure of hers; and she did wander about in the wide world till the end of her days, as a warning example against infanticide. — Of another mother the husband was just busy digging under her bed a grave for their drowned child, when she saw a huge snake emerging from the tub in which, in accordance with Chinese custom, the child had dropped when delivered; and this monster bit her so ferociously, that she died the next day. Still more frightfully punished was a murderous mother, who became pregnant with a snake with a human head, recoiling into her womb after having just shown itself; horror-stricken, she died of a severe pain in her abdomen, fully convinced that the monstrous reptile was a re-incarnation of two daughters she had murdered before. — One mother was attacked by the bloody mutilated bodies of her daughters, and by some bloody clods representing the children she had destroyed by abortion; all these monsters angrily gnawed her flesh with so much ferocity, that she died of a virulent epidermic scurf.

A farmer finds on the road a basket with an infant girl in it. It contains also some money, and a written request to the finder to bring up the child. He pockets the money, and flings the child into the river; but erelong a flash of lightning strikes him. — A mother who has drowned three daughters, is pregnant for three years, and on a sudden six hands protrude from her womb. She yells tremendously from fright for seven days, and expires. Many more slayers of their own progeny were thus visited with a pregnancy of dreadful duration, the fetus not daring to appear for fear that a like fate should befall it; and the end was the mother's death, or a favourable deliverance in consequence of a solemn oath that the expected child should suffer no injury whatever at her hands. — A disappointed butcher, enraged at the birth of a daughter, as he had expected a son, quarters it, and afterwards begets a son frightfully maimed. This event shocks him so much that he sickens and dies, leaving his crippled son alone in this world, to make his way through it as a miserable beggar. — A man who buried alive many of his new-born children, is attacked one day by them all while lying ill; he sees his four limbs change into a cow's legs, and weeping he turns round on his bed for three days, when an unseen hand cuts off his head; and ultimately all his sons perish likewise by an executioner's sword. — Mothers and fathers are represented dying prematurely for having drowned their daughters, and thereupon returning to life to tell of

horrid tortures inflicted in hell on themselves and their accomplices by Yama and his underlings. Others reveal their infernal fate to members of their family in their dreams. — We read how midwives who smothered the daughters of their clients, or caused abortion and miscarriage, were crushed under the roofs of their own houses, or were driven mad by the souls of their victims, lacerating their flesh with their teeth. It has also occurred that such guilty women ran about in delirium for many days, loudly swearing that they would for ever beware of committing such crimes again, and then stabbed themselves in despair. Finally we may mention a father who, while engaged in drowning his second daughter, heard a voice from the water-tub, exclaiming in a thundering tone: "This is the second time you drown me; but now it is my turn to destroy you and your sons". Anxious to escape this fate, he gets divorced from his wife; nevertheless he dies for anguish, and ere a month has passed, his two sons are killed by a catastrophe.

To prove the fact that even simple abortion may provoke retaliation on the part of the soul of the fetus, Chinese men of letters are always ready to call attention to the mother of the celebrated scholar Shao Khang-tsieh, of whom we spoke on page 715 of Book I. This worthy woman had a narrow escape from such prosecution, even though she had committed the feticide unwillingly. "Madam Chang", thus we read, "the great-grand-"mother of Shao Poh-wen (Khang-tsieh's son), could not come "across his grandmother, Madam Li, without using her with the "utmost harshness. Unable to endure this any longer, the latter "resolved one evening to put an end to herself. But then she "dreamed of a shen, who made her drink some broth from a "jade-veined cup, and said: 'Do not commit suicide, for now you "shall give birth to an excellent son'. She believed that being (and "desisted). Afterwards she became ill and weak. The doctors gave "her their drugs to swallow, on which she had another dream, "this time of two quinces lying on the right and the left side of "the door separating her bedroom from the hall, one of which, viz. "that on the right (or inferior) side, was rotten. She told it her "father-in-law, who lost no time in fetching more medicine, and "made her take it. The time of confinement came, and she gave "birth to Khang-tsieh and simultaneously to a dead female fetus. "More than ten years now elapsed, when, laid up in the hall, she "saw in the moonlight a girl in the courtyard, curtesying to her.

"'Mother', she cried, bathed in tears, 'you were so careless in "taking medicine, and so you poisoned me; for shame'. — 'It was "fate that caused it', replied the mother. 'But', the girl rejoined, "'if that is so, why then was my brother alone permitted to live?' — "'It was fate that determined that you should die and that he "should live', was the answer; and on these words the girl burst "into tears and passed on" [1].

Such narratives of prolicide, though they bear all the marks of fancy, perfectly answer their ethical purpose, deeply impressing, as they do, the simple-minded, especially because they generally give with remarkable preciseness the names of the heroes and heroines, the places and dates. Anti-prolicide literature also affords, as may be expected, sundry examples of people reaping rewards for having virtuously abstained from the monstrous practice, or for having tried to deter others from it. We read of honest fathers that never killed one daughter, who became very wealthy, or gained glorious laurels at the examinations of the State by the active help of the patron-divinities of literature and other gods, who, far from keeping their intervention a secret, revealed it to them in their dreams. Other such fathers received their reward in the shape of a numerous male offspring; some had a brilliant and glorious career, or enjoyed a life of exceptional length, and such blessings were bestowed also on the compassionate who brought up foundlings, gave money to the poor for the first nursing-expenses of their progeny, saved children from the drowning-tub, erected foundling-hospitals, etc. etc.

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[1] 邵伯温曾祖母張夫人遇祖母李夫人嚴甚。李夫人不能堪、一夕欲自盡。夢神人令以玉筋食羹一杯、告曰、無自盡、當生佳兒。夫人信之。後夫人病瘦。醫者旣投藥、又夢寢堂門之左右木瓜二株、右者已枯。因爲大父言、大父遽取藥令服之。及期、生康節公、同墮一死胎女也。後十餘年夫人病臥堂上、見月色中一女子、拜庭下。泣曰、母不察庸醫以藥毒兒、可恨。夫人曰、命也。女子曰、若爲命、何兄獨生。夫人曰、汝死兄獨生乃命也、女子涕泣而去. *Wen-kien ts'ien luh*; TS, sect. 庶徵, ch. 150.

The highest ambition of every Chinese being admission into the mandarin-class, it becomes almost a matter of course to find success at the world-famed competitive examinations which open access to official posts, foremost among the rewards bestowed by grateful spirits. Numerous instances of their having helped candidates to obtain their degree occur in the books of the present and the past, and that which we gave on page 862 of Book I is by no means a solitary one. On the other hand, being plucked often passes for a proof that no grateful spirits interfered, or that some rancorous spirit prevented the candidate from producing a superexcellent essay. It has been written often enough in books on China, that there always are among the host of candidates some that become ill in their cell, or deranged in mind, or even die in consequence of over-excitement, nervousness or fatigue. But never has it been stated with full emphasis that the Chinese are so ready to ascribe such events to revengeful spectres. Father Etienne Zi of Zikawei, author of an exemplary exposition of the examination-system, entitled: "Pratique des Examens Littéraires en Chine", writes therein with reference to the second session for the examinations for the kü-jen rank (page 142): "Le "nombre des candidats est ordinairement moindre..... D'autres "sont tombés malades, ou même sont morts au cours de la pre- "mière épreuve. Rien à cela d'étonnant: l'étroite réclusion que "subit une telle multitude, l'insalubrité du local dans lequel elle "se trouve parquée, l'infection de l'air qu'on y respire, jointes à "la surexcitation intellectuelle des candidats, ne peuvent manquer "de faire un nombre relativement considérable de victimes. Les "païens considèrent comme certain que, si un lettré mène une vie "immorale, s'il a des habitudes honteuses ou s'il recherche injuste- "ment la richesse, il ne manquera pas de recevoir le châtiment du "ciel à cet examen. Si donc il arrive qu'un candidat se pende "dans sa cellule, ou se donne la mort de quelque autre manière, "si, dans un moment d'égarement, il macule ou déchire son cahier, "etc., ces malheurs seront mis sur le compte de la 'rétribution', "pao-ing[1]".

In conversation with the Chinese, we have often been told that such catastrophes seldom occur at the examinations for the siu-ts'ai degree, the possession of which is requisite for admission to

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[1] 報應.

the kü-jen examinations. For, they say, it is the second or kü-jen degree that gives access to the mandarinate which, in virtue of its height and might, is almost beyond the power of spirits and ghosts; and so implacable spirits especially attack their enemies with energy when they are trying to pass this important examination.

When all the candidates have assembled, ready to betake themselves to the cells, and the gates of the vast arena are about to be closed, the high committee of examiners have a curious ceremony performed. One of them placing himself before a table bearing some sacrificial eatables and two candles, takes burning incense-sticks in his hands, and solemnly summons the unseen spirits into the place. "You that have enjoyed favours", he exclaims, "requite them now" [1]; then throwing the incense up in the air, he salutes the spirits with bows, and retires. Formerly, it is said, the invoker was in the habit of exclaiming also: "And you that have suffered wrong, repay it now" [2]. But in those times so many cells and their occupants were struck by the hand of unseen beings, that a sentiment of humanity prompted in the end the examiners to give up this custom. Nevertheless, to this day many vindictive ghosts freely swarm in together with the grateful; and not seldom do they storm the gate in crowds so dense that the keepers, to bolt it, have to push the doors with all their might. Thus sagaciously does the Government avail itself of the spirit-world to recruit the official class exclusively from the virtuous and the honest; indeed, every man with an over-burdened conscience is sure to keep aloof from a place where he is delivered with so much refinement to the wrath of his victims. Were the wrathful spirits not thus officially invited to walk in, they would not presume to encroach upon that sacred ground; for they, just as well as all mankind, are the Emperor's subjects, and therefore have to keep away respectfully from whatever is set aside for Imperial use or special Imperial property.

Having made their way through the gate, the spectres begin their gloomy work immediately. Curious tales circulate as to how they behave. Some candidates they bereave of consciousness; others they render ill, mad or delirious, and of a greater number they stifle the memories, making them sit silly over their writing-paper, unable to put down even one sentence or character. Some

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[1] 有恩報恩. [2] 有冤報冤.

are kept in constant alarm by soft or shrill chirping voices on the roof of their cell. Others are haunted by the souls of their murdered infants, nay, it occurs that under the pressure of some revengeful ghost, candidates write down a circumstantial confession of their crimes, in lieu of an essay on the theme given. There are also those who, on leaving their cells, blab out their sins aloud before the whole crowd of candidates, or are found dead in their cells, having opened an artery of their throat with a sherd of their tea-pot or tea-cup, in default of cutting instruments.

With respect to virtuous candidates the spirits behave quite otherwise. They clear up their brains, arousing in them many a bright idea which, converted into writing, evinces deepness of learning, wisdom and intellect. It is said and believed that compositions laid aside by the examiners as worth nothing, are sometimes placed before them again by an invisible hand, and on closer inspection found to be really the best among the best. As a rule, the successful candidates themselves do not know who the spirits are that thus kindly interfered on their behalf. In general they simply take them for ghosts lying under some obligation or other for favours received from ancestors of theirs, or having lived some time in an animal treated with kindness by some forefather or by themselves. Under these circumstances, candidates may chance to be attacked by spirits and at the same time protected by some. In such a case, it is affirmed, the power of the grateful ones is always paramount to that of the others and therefore perfectly neutralizes this, so that no harm of any significance can ever befall a man whom a benevolent ghost stands by.

It follows from those considerations that many a candidate with very bad personal precedents may pass through the examination-ordeal with impunity on account of the merits of his ancestors, nay, even scoundrels and criminals may carry off the highest laurels. This does not prevent those that come out victorious from being generally exalted as the cream of the virtuous, for just as it is an axiom in China that merits of children surround their forefathers with a glorious halo, so the merit of the ancestry washes the offspring clean. The kü-jen degree once obtained, places the happy possessor for ever beyond the reach of most evil ghosts, as well as all people in the midst of whom he moves about as a peacock among fowls. Indeed, he enjoys that mighty, special protection which the patron-divinities of Literature award to all graduates of ranks so high as his. Thus do virtue and merit shed their salutary

influence far around; but in the same measure punishment inflicted on a man by a rancorous spirit may work disastrously on those near him. Hence many a plucked candidate comes home with the news that his bad fortune would have it that something frightful befell a candidate in a cell not far from his, so that he had to write his essay within a sphere wherefrom the gods of Literature had withdrawn their protecting hands and in which accordingly no success could possibly be hoped for.

The series of authentic evidences of Chinese mind and thought which we have drawn up for a systematical survey in this Part of our work and in the two last chapters in particular, attest decidedly the existence of a point of importance, which we have now, in conclusion, to emphasize as a main stone in the basis of China's Religion: — it is an inveterate conviction of the Chinese people, a doctrine, an axiom, that spirits exist, keeping up with the living a most lively intercourse, as intimate almost as that among men. There exists, in fact, a line of separation between spirits and men, or, which means much the same, between the dead and the living, but it is a very faint line, scarcely discernible. In every respect their intercourse bears an active character. It brings blessing, and evil as well, the spirits thus effectually ruling mankind's fate. From them man has to hope everything, but equally much to fear. As a natural consequence, it is around the ghosts and spirits that he groups his religious acts, with this sole intent to avert their wrath and the evil it brings, and to insure their good-will and help. The acts, manners and methods by which he tries to realize this dual object, are numerous; they will be the chief topic of this work. They are the fruits of the inventive genius of the whole of China through a long series of centuries; they are the reflection of her wit and intellect, both old and modern, which, conversely, nothing could illustrate so well as her Animistic Religion.

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